



Waller Southwood R.S.A.

*Dr. Edmund Cartwright  
and his family.*



# THE ANCESTOR

A Quarterly Review of County and  
Family History, Heraldry  
and Antiquities

EDITED BY  
OSWALD BARRON F.S.A

NUMBER X  
*JULY* 1904

LONDON  
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*Dr. Edward Livingston*  
*of New Orleans*



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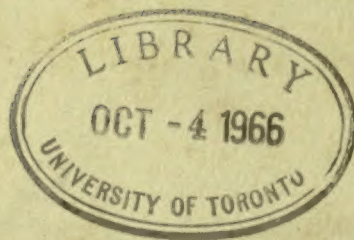
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## THE CARTWRIGHTS

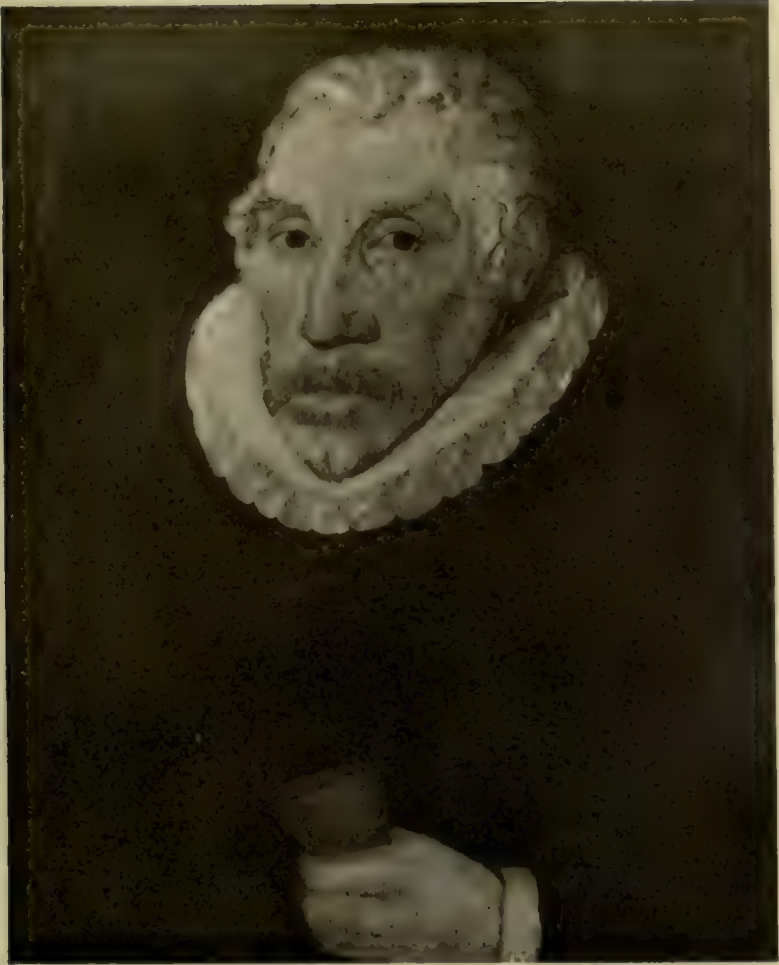
THE history of the Cartwrights cannot be taken back to the days of the pointed shoe. Square toes and the Tudors were reigning when we hear first of a Hugh Cartwright who, by his wife Maude Coo, was father of some three or four sons, two of whom at least prospered in the world. William the heir was of Malbeck and Norwell in Nottinghamshire, and as neither his marriage nor his activity was noteworthy, some inheritance must have come to him from his father. Rowland Cartwright, a younger son, is hailed as the founder of the Cheshire Cartwrights, from whom come the Cartwrights of Aynho, opulent squires and great parliament men with manors in Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire; but this descent is wrongly stated, and it seems probable that careless pedigree-makers have tagged the first known ancestor of the Aynho line to the nearest unappropriated cadet of a county family with a genealogy in the heralds' books.

Of the sons of this Hugh Cartwright, one Edmund Cartwright, wrought best for the family and its advancement. His wife Agnes is claimed as a daughter of Thomas Cranmer, the squire of Aslacton, whose son Thomas rose to be Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. She is not named in her father's will, but the near kinship of Edmund Cartwright to the Cranmers is made apparent in many ways. When the Archbishop had leases from the Crown of certain manors in Kent, West and East Malling, Ewell and Parrock, and the site of Malling nunnery, Edmund Cartwright had these long and rich leases from his patron. In Nottinghamshire Edmund bought Ossington, which was to be the chief seat of his branch, a manor near Newark, which had been late of the lands of Newark Priory. With his hands thus full of church lands the squire of Ossington should have earned the church's curse for himself and his line, but the ill-gotten Ossington lands were long handed down by prosperous descendants. He died in the first year of Queen Mary, before my lord

archbishop came to the fire and faggot. His son and heir, Hugh Cartwright of Malling, married a daughter of Sir John Newton, a lady whose hand he might have demanded with less than the traditional diffidence of the suitor, for she is said to have left no less than sixteen sisters in her father's house. He lived in his Malling home, and when the Kentish rebels, under Sir Harry Isley and the two Knevetts, were marching to join Wyatt at Rochester, Hugh Cartwright was one of those from Malling who met them in Wrotham and routed them in the little Kentish battle of Blackesol field.

His nephew, William Cartwright, followed Hugh of Malling as his heir. This William, who died in 1602, as appears by his tomb at Ossington, married Grace Dabridgecourt, a descendant of the knightly house of Aubricicourt, or Dabridgecourt, the Hainaulters whose ancestor Nicholas received Queen Isabel of England and her son Edward when they fled from Paris in 1326. Young Edward the king remembered the kindness to the prince, and the Dabridgecourts prospered under him. The stall plate of Sir Sanchet Dabridgecourt, a founder of the Order of the Garter, still remains in St. George's Chapel, enamelled in its colours. Sir John, another Dabridgecourt came to be honoured in the same order, and Froissart has much to tell of the deeds of Sir Eustace Dabridgecourt, who was struck to the ground at Poitiers, and taken by five German men-at-arms to be tied ignominiously to a cart until his own men rescued and remounted him. From this house descended a family of midland gentry, and Grace, the wife of William Cartwright, was daughter of Thomas Dabridgecourt, of Longdon Hall in Warwickshire. The shields of husband and wife may be seen painted on the doors of the curious chest of drawers still in the possession of their descendant, Mr. George Cartwright.

These Cartwrights of Ossington threw themselves in the civil war and spent themselves for the king. Ossington Hall went to ruin in these troubles, and William Cartwright of Ossington, the head of the branch, was amongst those who must needs compound for their estates with the committee of the parliament in 1646. He is described as of Ossington in Nottinghamshire, and of Stoke Lacy and Mintridge in Herefordshire, and pleaded that he had been in arms in 1643, but not afterwards. In that year also came Sir Hugh Cartwright of Southwell, and Hugh his son, to compound. These



HUGH CARTWRIGHT OF MALLING.

1593.





two cadets of the house had been at the taking of Newark. Before Pontefract fell, Sir Hugh and his son were excepted as dangerous malignants from the mercy offered the garrison, and Sir Hugh's life was saved by his suffering himself to be bricked up by his friends in a hiding hole with a month's meat and drink. John Cartwright of Wheatley, who was probably a younger brother of William, was another compounder, confessing 'delinquency in arms.' He made his peace, taking the Covenant and the Negative Oath in this same year. Another kinsman, Lieutenant-Colonel George Cartwright, who had a pass to go beyond sea in 1645, may have been the Colonel Cartwright of whose ill-treatment Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson makes her complaint.

Side by side with the Ossington branch the elder line of Cartwright survived, descendants of William, the eldest son of the founder of the house. That the two branches held together is shown by more than one marriage of kinsfolk. William Cartwright of Norwell married a daughter of Reynold Peckham of Wrotham, by a daughter of the first Ossington Cartwright, and his grandson, another William, who built a new house of brick and stone at Normanton, married his cousin Christian, daughter of Sir Hugh Cartwright the cavalier. This William is said to have been himself a cavalier in arms, but he begot a son, again a William, who left the Stuart cause and served as a captain in Ireland in the regiment which the Earl of Kingston led for King William of Orange. He died in this campaign, not by the sword, but by small-pox, and was buried at Belfast. John Evelyn, in his diary, names him as a Nottinghamshire man, who persuaded the council of state to send a letter of amnesty to the New England colonists, who were even then in a 'peevish and touchy humour.' His son's marriage with Rebecca, daughter and heir of Edmund Nicholson, squire of Marnham, made Marnham the chief seat of his family. Elizabeth, youngest daughter of William and Rebecca, married Sir John Brownlow, K.B., Viscount Tyrconnel. William Cartwright of Marnham, high sheriff of Nottinghamshire in 1742, brought both lines of the family together by marrying his distant cousin, Anne Cartwright, daughter and heir of George Cartwright of Ossington.

The marriage of cousins is held to beget weaklings, but the children of these cousins defied the rule by growing up

as a nest of celebrities. It is not demanded of a squire's son and heir that he should be famous, and William the son and heir is only a name in the pedigree, with more than a suspicion of extravagance and loose living clinging about his memory. Charles Cartwright, the youngest of the five sons, entered the navy, and with a lieutenant's command took a West African Dutch fort. But he left the navy too soon to take part in the great sea epic of his later days, and died at home with nothing more than lieutenant for his tombstone.

The second brother advanced but to a captain's rank in the army, but fame came to him with a surname. He is Labrador Cartwright. Born at Marnham in 1739, 'a pair of colours,' as the saying of his day went, was procured him, and he sailed to the East Indies, coming back in 1757 as ensign of the 39th. He went to the German wars in 1758 and 1759 as aide-de-camp to that popular hero, Marquess of Granby. As a captain of a company of the 37th he was sent back to England from Minorca in failing health, and from this time he gave himself to sport and travel. The young officer, whose health would not allow him to stay with his regiment, hardened into a mighty hunter, who spent sixteen years trapping and exploring amongst the snows of Labrador, to which coast he made five voyages, and lived to hearty old age, dying at Mansfield in 1819.

From one of his voyages he brought home five Innuits of Labrador, whose arrival in eighteenth century London was more than a nine days' wonder. The life of the Innuits inspired half Grub Street to tales of the frozen lands, and doubtless even good Mr. Barlow's anecdotes of Esquimaux life and the social moral to be drawn from it came to Master Sandford and Master Merton at secondhand from Captain Cartwright.

Like a good son of the house, Captain Cartwright first delighted the home at Marnham with his Innuits. In a little diary book in faded red morocco with silver clasps his sister Catherine tells the story of the Inuit invasion. Under the date of 16 April 1770 'my brother George left Marnham after breakfast to go upon his Labrador scheme.' On 13 December 1772 brother George landed at Gravesend from Cape Charles in Labrador, bringing with him five fur-clad visitors. These were Ittuiaick, aged forty, and Econgoke his wife, aged twenty-four, with Ikkyana their daughter, whose years were





THE WIFE OF HUGH CARTWRIGHT OF MALLING.

1593.





two, Tooklavvinia, aged nineteen, brother of Ittuiack, and Cauboic his wife, aged seventeen. On a never-to-be-forgotten 18 March 'my brother George came to Marnham with his five Indians in their proper habits, which are very curious and ingeniously form'd and ornamented with bead. All the Indians have bright black eyes and dark complexions. Cauboic is very handsome, has a regular face with an uncommon degree of sense, sweetness, sprightliness and sensibility in her countenance, and of ease and gentility in all her actions and notions.'

The party stayed at Marnham until 9 April, when they departed 'with mutual regret.' The kindly spinster sister at home took the whole party to her heart, and although she came at the last to admit that the natures of Ittuiack and Tooklavvinia were rude, and that Econgoke was something wanting in the esteemed quality of 'gentility,' her affection for the beautiful Cauboic never failed, and it is evident that only the constraints of genteel language keep her from describing brown baby Ikkyana as a duck. 'For Cauboic,' says Miss Catherine Cartwright, 'I conceived such a love and friendship as I am convinced neither time or absence can ever efface.'

Two post-chaises carried Captain Cartwright and his friends to London, where the town seized upon them. King George received them at his Court of St. James's, and the sights of the town were at their feet. Five wondering Innuits walked with Captain Cartwright amongst the fiddlers and coloured lamps of Ranelagh, the crowd in its floured wigs and hooped petticoats pressing with giggling amazement upon these beings so strangely clad in deerskin coats and moccassins. They must have supped in one of the harbours on the famous Ranelagh punch and the transparent slices of ham, for they stayed until half past eleven at night, by which hour we may hope that Ikkyana was asleep in somebody's arms.

On 4 May they embarked in the Thames on a ship named, after Captain George's aunt, the *Lady Tyrconnell*, and began coasting towards the west, whence bad news comes to Marnham to be recorded in the red leather diary with the silver clasps. The London crowd of the eighteenth century might not be mingled with without risk, and off Lymington or Weymouth the beautiful Cauboic sickened of a fever. Small-

pox declared itself, and Econgoke was the next to take the disease. With putrid fever and small-pox aboard, the *Lady Tyrconnell* became foul as a plague pit, and her crew were fain to run for Plymouth, where 'Ikkyana, that sweetest of babes, resigned her innocent soul.' The baby was buried in the sand of 'that neck of land which helps to form the harbour of Catwater. She was in her sealskin dress, wrapped up in a deerskin, and had all her cloaths, beads and ornaments, sewing implements and a knife and spoon inter'd with her.' After her death her father and mother lost hold on life. Econgoke died. Miss Cartwright, when the news came, 'wished her well, but could not love her.' Ittuiack died, and within half an hour of him, Tooklavvinia.

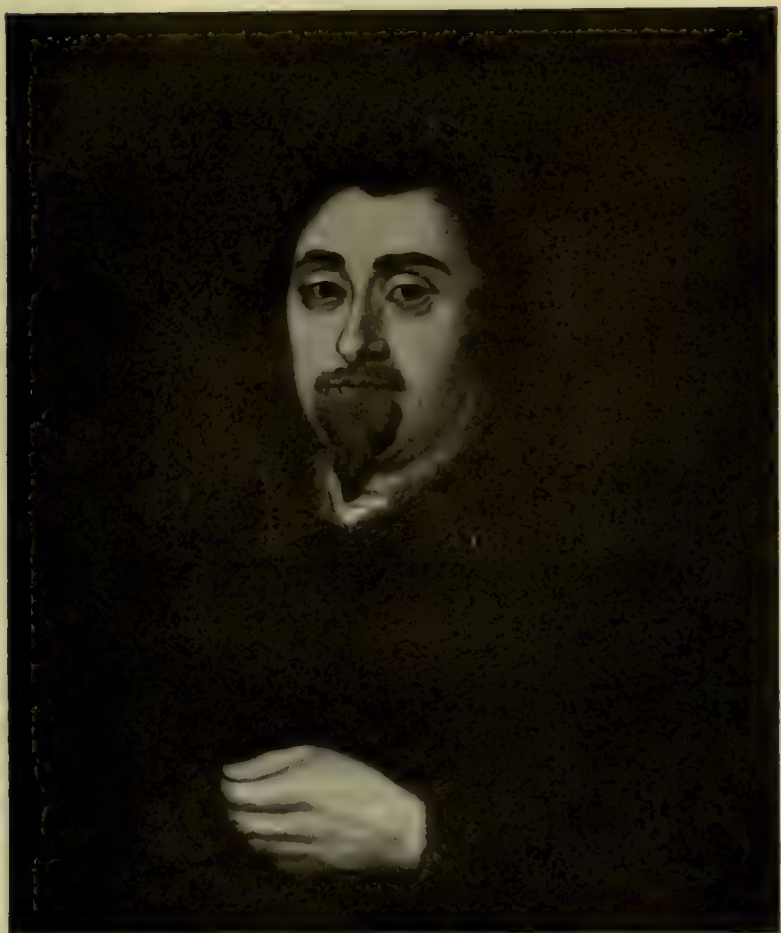
Captain George had been summoned to London by urgent affairs, and hurried back fearful of news of Cauboic, but the news was good. As he came before the house Cauboic's window was open and the curtain drawn. In our grandfather's time the physician boxed the sick man in his room to struggle with the pestilence behind closed doors and sealed windows. The open window told the captain that all was over for good or ill, and in another minute he was wished joy of the recovery of his daughter, 'for so he calls that amiable Innuït.'

The deaths of all her folk had next to be broken to Cauboic, and George, who was setting about it with an anxious mind, found that Cauboic bore the news with calmness. 'That amiable Innuït' confessed to him that 'she hated them all excepting the child,' and begged to be allowed to live with him. Once again in the open air of Plymouth she mended fast, and Miss Cartwright, far away at Marnham, records thankfully how she had eaten in the morning a whole chicken roasted with pease, and was to eat another in broth before night.

Captain George stayed at her side, and brought amusements to divert her. A fiddler played by her bed, and on one memorable day her guardian 'obtain'd the Old Buffs' band of music, consisting of nine hands, with which she was so delighted that she kept the band for twelve hours, and never shed another tear for her relations.'

The *Lady Tyrconnell* was cleansed and re-manned, the voyage was taken up again, and before the end of August the captain and his adopted daughter were landed at Cape





SIR HUGH CARTWRIGHT, THE CAVALIER, D. 1668.



Charles, where they were well received by Cauboic's people, who, listening to her tale, forbore to lay the deaths of their kinsfolk at the captain's door. It was probably not long before the wildest beliefs concerning Ranelagh and its coloured lamps had passed into the tribal lore of the Innuits.

Southey's fat Commonplace Book gives us a picture of Captain George Cartwright eighteen years later. He was then a guest at the house of his brother-in-law Hodges, and the amazing appetite of the man kept the eyes of the young Southey upon him. With this mighty hunter the phrase of a hunter's hunger was indeed justified. The footman, who knew his manner of life, carved for him at the sideboard a plate of beef piled so high that Southey believed it a lackey's insult to a stranger, but the plate returned empty to the joint not once or twice. Satisfied at last, the captain admitted that he was an earnest trencherman, and boasted that a leg of mutton was with him an affair of but two slices, the first slice taking one side away, and the other clearing the bone. Before he left in the morning he ate a breakfast with three cucumbers and much bread and cheese in it, and Southey thought he had never before met so extraordinary a man. Few of us to-day have read George Cartwright's *Journal of Transactions and Events during a Residence of nearly Sixteen Years on the Coast of Labrador* (three volumes quarto, 1793), but Southey read them with delight :—

The annals of his campaigns amongst the foxes and beavers interested me more than ever did the exploits of Marlboro' and Frederic ; besides, I saw plain truth and the heart in Cartwright's book, and in what history could I look for them ?

The third son of the Marnham family was John Cartwright of Wyberton, born in 1740. This was the 'Major Cartwright' the reformer, very famous in his day and accursed of his brother squires. He began life in the navy, and saw service under Lord Howe, was first lieutenant of the *Guernsey* in 1766, and explored part of Newfoundland. The restless spirit of his brothers was upon him in good measure, and his popularity in the navy may have suffered through his being one of the first Englishmen to take up the cry of 'efficiency.' Towards efficiency he himself contributed improvements in the gun exercise, but by 1775 he was ashore and addressing a letter to Edmund Burke, Esquire,



‘controverting the principles of American Government laid down in his lately published tract.’ If his ancestor were indeed that Cartwright who, in 1671, was asking justice and consideration for the claims of the American colonists, we must recall this when we learn that John Cartwright left the navy and all hope of advancement in 1777 rather than join Lord Howe’s new command on the American station. As a naval officer ashore he had busied himself in the Notts militia, and by his militia majority he was henceforward to be known, even after his commission had been taken from him by reason of a public meeting in which he had cheered for the fall of the Bastille.

The busy life was before this sailor ashore, this major from the sea. At once he thrust both hands into politics, and the descendant on both sides of a line of squires declared boldly for the people. He was the father of reform, and more than two generations before the coming of the Chartists he was fighting in and out of season for annual parliaments, universal suffrage and the ballot, demands which, to the ears of most of his astonished class, must have sounded as the blasphemings of the restless pit.

In those anxious times when a troubled government was wont to see Armageddon and red revolution awaiting it round the very next corner, it is at least remarkable that the major came so safely away from his political adventures, but the hemp was never heckled for him, and the loss of his militia commission and a hundred pound fine for sedition were the worst that he came by.

Politics were not enough to fill his life with. He made experiments in husbandry on his Lincolnshire lands, he fought against slavery with Clarkson and Granville Sharp, and when his old calling of the navy was to be honoured with a public monument by a people in high delight over Nelson’s doings at sea, this handy sailor man was ready with marvellous designs for a *Hieronauticon* or Naval Temple, which came to a quarto volume, but never rose in stone and bronze.

In this red radical our little Englanders can have no pleasure, for he was full of schemes for the better defence of England and her coasts. He had good counsel for the Spanish patriots, and Greeks were helped with his money and with tracts on the proper use of the pike when bayonets may not be obtained.



JOHN BROWNLOW, VISCOUNT TYRCONNEL, D. 1754.

HUSBAND OF ELIZABETH CARTWRIGHT.





He wrote eighty political tracts, and saved four lives from drowning. He was a generous soul, a dull and troublesome writer and orator. Mr. Francis Place did not love the major, but others found him a cheerful man and good companion. He died in Burton Crescent, where now his grimy monument looks upon the windows of that encampment of paying guests.

The major's next brother was Edmund Cartwright, born in 1743. Something in the Treasury had been found for the eldest son during his father's lifetime. Two of the squire's sons had been given to the navy and one to the army; the career, therefore, of Edmund Cartwright was clear before him. It is superfluous to add that it led to a rectory. But the soldier had taken to radical politics, the surviving sailor to fur-trapping, the Treasury clerk to the Bad, and it was written that Edmund Cartwright should not find his way to the Biographical Dictionary by his divinity. To the mind of the young Edmund it was literature which should lead him towards posthumous fame, and his *Armine and Elvira, a Legendary Poem*, was long admired in his family, and was well received by that eighteenth century so easily pleased, so artless in its literary pleasures. The twentieth century writer, in the moments when 'the ink and the anguish start,' may look back with an unfeigned regret to the day in which a Hermit, a Pilgrim, and their encounter by a Mossy Cell would furnish all that the public at its Chippendale reading-desk would look for in a polite author. A hermit was not lacking in *Armine and Elvira*. Rage, Despair, Pity, Distraction, Friendship and Grief, and other abstractions with capital letters, were pleasantly met in the underwoods of the quatrains, and the whole poem, as an admiring daughter most justly observes, is of the 'refined and classic school.'

The rectory was not too long delayed, the living of Goadby Marwood coming to Mr. Edmund in 1779, a rectory with a glebe upon which the rector fell at once to work with experiments in agriculture. The author of *Armine and Elvira* could never degenerate to the life of Parson Trulliber, but he became a keen and successful farmer, who brought his active Cartwright brains to the toil with an originality which is politely lacking in his gentle verses. A farmer he might have stayed, if aught might be safely predicted of one of these restless brothers, had it not been for a holiday visit to Matlock in Derbyshire. From Matlock he went with a party,

Manchester spinners amongst them, to see Arkwright's cotton mills at Cromford. The talk amongst the Manchester men was of the weaving trade going abroad to German cheap labour, and the poet, eager as a Pepys after a new fact, flashed out with the fancy that machines must come to the help of England, and maintained the possibility of such machinery to the contempt of practical Manchester, with a tale of the wonderful movements of the Automatic Chess Player which had been shown in London.

Home again at the rectory, he walked his study hour by hour before his delighted children imitating with his hand the cast of the shuttle. Before he had even seen a handloom this wonderful man had framed a clumsy power loom, and his earlier patents were taken out in 1785, 1786, and 1787. The poet, the rector, and the farmer turned weaver, and set up a factory in Doncaster with the first power looms by which wide cloth was ever woven for practical purposes. His wool-combing machine of 1789, in its crudest form, did the work of twenty men, with the result that fifty thousand wool-combers cried aloud to Parliament for the restraint of the rector of Goadby Marwood. 'My father,' says his daughter in her diary, about this time was so absorbed by his machinery that he instituted processions in honour of Bishop Blaise, the patron of woolcombing, which we young people disliked *as being a popish ceremony unbecoming his clerical profession.*' By 1793 he had come by the fate of the inventor who invents for the generations after him. Thirty thousand pounds of the Cartwright money was sunk in machinery and patents which yielded no return. Giving up the works to his creditors, and his patents to his brothers, he left invention and imagination and fell back upon his poetry, consoling himself with a sonnet on his ill fortune. He came to try his fortune in London, where, the itch of invention taking him anew, he built a house with his own patent geometrical bricks, patented an alcohol engine, and experimented with the application of steam to navigation. In intervals of leisure he invented a reaping machine, wrote a prize essay on husbandry, and became manager of the Duke of Bedford's experimental farm at Woburn.

Now and again he was reminded of his orders. Lincoln made the maker of the power loom a prebendary, and Oxford in 1806 gave the degree of Doctor of Divinity to the patentee



WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT OF MARNHAM, D. 1748.





of the geometrical brick. He lived to see the power loom making wealth for others, and to define a patent as 'a feeble protection against the rapacity, piracy and theft of too many of the manufacturing class.' Parliament in 1809 gave £10,000 to the man who had shown the way to the northern millionaires, and the Rev. Dr. Edmund Cartwright took the sum like a philosopher and bought a farm in Kent with it. His active and, one must believe, his happy life was lived out busily to the end. Little there was in nature that he did not finger. In his parish he practised medicine, and 'exhibited' yeast in a case of putrid fever with a recorded success. In his eighty-third year he offered the Royal Society a theory of the movement of planets round the sun. The year before his death, in 1823, he was at Dover for warm bathing in sea-water, and though old and ill he must needs teach his bathing man a method of filling his cistern by an application of power.

He was the only one of the brothers to carry on the family.<sup>1</sup> The next generation was a less strenuous one, but it produced the Reverend Edmund Cartwright, F.S.A., a topographer and county historian who in 1830, with the aid of his friend the Duke of Norfolk, made a respectable continuation to Dallaway's *History of Sussex*. He married twice, his first wife being one who, had she borne children, would have brought a curious strain of blood to the family. She was the daughter of John Wombwell, apparently a cousin german of the first baronet of that name, by a lady who is styled in the family records a Persian princess. The child of this union was married to Mr. Cartwright in 1795 at St. George's, Hanover Square, and died in February of the next year, being then but a child of sixteen years.

Of the daughters of the inventor one lived with her uncle, the reforming major, and wrote his life. Another wrote a memoir of her father. A third daughter was Elizabeth, who married in 1814 the Reverend John Penrose, a Bampton lecturer, and dying in 1837 was buried in Lincoln Cathedral. Few will recognize from this description one of the most

<sup>1</sup> Our family picture of Cartwright and his children is thus described in his daughter's notes for 1786—'In this year my brother and sisters and myself all met together at Doncaster and had our picture taken by Mr. Hawes. We are represented sitting under the great mulberry tree at Mirfield Hall, my father standing behind and looking at us with a pensive expression of countenance well suited to his widowed situation.'

famous of our countrywomen, one whose work three generations of English children have thumbed. For Elizabeth Cartwright, Mrs. John Penrose, was no other than the Mrs. MARKHAM of our childhood, Mrs. MARKHAM of the history book.

Let us laugh indulgently as we remember the conversation of Richard and George, of their sister and their mamma. Before the day of Mrs. Markham the history of our country was administered to the young from the ponderous inaccuracies of Rapin, the dulness of Goldsmith's unwelcome task. From Mrs. Markham in her later form, made glorious with charging knights and battling archers '*from an old MS.*,' many a child has persuaded himself to grow up a man to whom the history of the English and the mystery of old and far-off days are not things which may be lightly cast into that calm limbo where rest for the most of us the irregularities of the Greek verb.

There are school room histories nowadays which even in the matter of the pictures in the margin drive poor Mrs. Markham from her pride of place, and much of her chronicle was the Berlin woolwork of history, now sadly faded. But from 1823 to 1880, at the least, all young England learned history at Mrs. Markham's knee. Little Arthur was her wash-pot, over Mrs. Mangnall she cast forth her shoe, and, be it said to her credit, her steady popularity saved a generation of us from the rant of that *Child's History of England*, in which a great man went so deplorably beyond his last.

The year 1904 has seen an attempt to give his due measure of fame to one of this family of Cartwright. Bradford and Lord Masham have raised the Cartwright memorial hall in honour of the name of Edmund Cartwright, upon whose labours the town's prosperity rests. Lord Masham, in reproaching his countrymen with having so easily forgotten Edmund Cartwright, did not hesitate to call him the greatest of English inventors, beside whose achievements those of Stephenson and Watt suffer in comparison. This article will have served its purpose in showing that so famous a man was English in blood and nurture.

O. B.





LADY SHERARD.



SIR BROWNLOW SHERARD.



## FOUR ANCIENT ENGLISH WILLS

**I**N the *Ancestor* (v. 159) will be found transcripts of the first ten wills written in English in the registers of the Archdeaconry of London. The four wills which follow are taken, two from the Commissary Court of London and two from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. When the wills published by the Early English Text Society are reckoned with it will probably be found that all English wills made before 1410 and now in London are in print.

### I. THE WILL OF ROBERT BARAN<sup>1</sup>

In the name of god Almythty in Trinite Amen I Robert Baran in good mynd and memorie I make myn testament in this maner In the ferst begynnyng I be quethe myn soule to almyghty god in Trinite and to hys blyssyd moder holy made Marie and to alle the holy compayne of hevene Also I be quethe myn body to be beryed in the church of Bethlem befor the cros in the body of the church Also I be quethe to the heye auter xl<sup>d</sup> Also to the church pavyng xl<sup>d</sup> Also I be quethe to the prest that shall berye me xl<sup>d</sup> Also I be quethe to the ordre of the qwhyte frers of london x<sup>s</sup> Also I bequeth to the ordre of the Augustin x<sup>s</sup> to preye for me Also I bequethe to Syr Thomas Grene prest x<sup>l</sup> Also to Sire Thomas Riedle xl<sup>d</sup> to preyn for me Also I be quethe to Annes Nok myn servaunt a coffre wyth a lok and a keye Also I be queth to the fornseyd Anneys a bed of suyche as Hawys my wyf wyll ordeyne for here. Also I bequethe to John Baran sadyller the best goune and the hood that I have. Also I bequeth to Robert cordwayner dwellyng wyth inne bysschopsgate a goune and a hood to preye for me Also I bequeth to Hawys myn wyff the place that is ours wyth inne Bethelhem the whyche place we wonyn in wt. all portenance and the termes of Wynter and other covenantz as oure dedes makyn mencion and sche to yeven and to sellen and to do what sche wolle al the fornsayde terme Also I wyll that the fornsayde Hawys have the place wyth all the portenans that sire Hugh dwellit in the persone be hire live and the termes as myn dedes

<sup>1</sup> Commissary Court of London. 463 *Courtney*.



specifien Also overmore I be queth to Hawys myn wyf and assigne to have myn new place wt the aportenans that I have do made in Bethelem be twyxen the kychan and the gardyn the forsed Hawes to have and to holden al be hyr live tyme and oure termes as oure dedes maken mencioune and in cas that the forsed Hawys deye bynne the terme I wyll that the forsed place torne sir Nicholl myn cosyn and overmore yef it so be that Sir Nicholl deye bynne the terme I wil that the fornseyd place wyth alle the portenans torne to Anneys Nook myn servant and yef it so be that Anneys deye bynn the terme I wyll that it torne to John Baran myn cosyn tailor of London Also I be queth to Hawys myn wyff all myn necessities that arn in myn place be hyr live as of masiers pecys spounes naperis bakclothis bedclothis and all other divers necessities that arn in houshold and after her disses sche to sellen hem and to do for oure soules Also overmore I forseyde Robert Baran I have ordeyned and made and i wreten here in myn testament myn executour Hawys myn wyff and sir Nichol Byschop myn cosyn and nalych Hawys myn wyf to be myn principalle executor sche to do for me Als she wold that I dede for hyr and overmore myn wyl is that sir Thomas Grene be an overseer by myn goodes so that myn godes be yovyn and dispendid as I have ordeyned an wrytyn in this fornseyd testament in wytnes of wych thing I Robert Baran have set myn seel wretyn and yoven atte Londene as the xvij dey of Juyn the yer of the incarnation of our Lord Jeshu Crist mlccc wytnesyng sir Thomas Redele and sir Thomas Grene prest Richard Spencer and William Lylbech and Nicholas of Norfolk

Proved 3 November, 1400.

## II. THE WILL OF JOHN RYNGFELD.<sup>1</sup>

In the name of god amen the vj<sup>te</sup> day of the monthe of August In the yere of oure lord a ml cccc xxxix I John Ryngfeld citezin and drapo<sup>r</sup> of London beyng in good and hool mynde make ordeyne and dispose this present testament aftir my last wille in this maner of wise First I betake my soule to almyghty god my worthi creature and maker to his blessed modir maryургyn and to all the holy company of hevyn And my body to be beryed in the church by the north est

<sup>1</sup> Comm Court of London. 28 *Prowet*.



CAPTAIN GEORGE CARTWRIGHT.  
"LABRADOR CARTWRIGHT."





piler of the stepil in seint Michell of Cornhull in london And on the same pilier over me I wol have a table peynted with an image w<sup>t</sup> a similitude of a risyng of the dome<sup>1</sup> havynge iij rolles in the right and writen ther yn *Mercyful lord over al thynges For mercy and grace to the I calle for the joye that ever is lastyng lord fro dampnacion save us all* And in the left hand *Gode frendes of me takeb bede prent in youre bertes in speciall In the erthe here am I leyde wormys to ete thus shull ye all* And over the heed *For Jb's love that died for yow and me helpeth the soule of John Ryngfeld with a pater noster and an ave and a ston upon me w<sup>t</sup> my mark and theron writte declina a malo et fac bonum* I bequethe to the high auter iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> Item I bequethe for the table and for the stoon xxvj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> Item for lyng in the church vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> Item I beqwethe to the church vj newe torchis everych of xvij<sup>li</sup> Item ij tapres I bequethe everych of xiiij<sup>lb</sup> And ij<sup>o</sup> of the torchis I bequethe to Markyatte nonnery beside seynt Albons in the worship of the Trinite and an other torch to the praye that is a nonry beside and ii<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> of money to the laumpe of the same church and vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> for selynge of her parlour And that the seid nonnes sette me in here marcilage to pray for me perpetuall Also I woll that the pore men of the parisshe atte the service tyme hold my torchis Item bequeth every of hem iiij<sup>d</sup> and her mete for her labour Also and I have seynt Michell candelstykkes and tapres to stonde beside the cors and I be fette to church with here torches they shul have vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> Also I beqwethe for the torchis of oure lady and of seynt Anne to brynge me to church xl<sup>d</sup> and to pray for me Item I bequeth to the fyndyng of a laumpe brennyng atte Markayate to fore the Trinite xlvj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> and that laumpe to be found still as longe as the seid money lastith undir this condicion that the seid covent have a laumpe in here dorte<sup>r</sup> al the wynter nyghtes of the seid cost and that my name be sette in here martilage and I for to have the a dirige and a masse on the morow and so to be prayed for perpetuall to the which light a barell of oill of iiij galons wol serve it a yere And I beqweth to the prestes there xx<sup>d</sup> and to my sistur xx<sup>d</sup> and every nonne of the same hous xij<sup>d</sup> aftir my decesse that I am past hens and that I have there a dirige and a masse Also whanne that ye se that I shal nedely passe lete be done for me a Tretall of massis by my life dayes and lete me

<sup>1</sup> A picture of the resurrection of the dead is here described. The rolls are the scrolls bearing the legend.

have a pryve dirige by my life that I may her hit and yeve x<sup>t</sup> of money to pore folk of the pariss<sup>h</sup> to pray for me and let hem be atte the dirige and eche of hem sey oure lady sawter And I bequethe every preste ij<sup>d</sup> and every clerk ij<sup>d</sup> that is atte this servys thus doon and affir that they have bredde and drynke whanne dirige is doon And aftir that my soule and my body be departed I charge yow myn executours that it be kept w<sup>t</sup> v pore folk men and women and eche of hem to have ij<sup>d</sup> and here mete and they sey oure lady sawter Item that I have vij tapres eche of half a lb and iiij<sup>or</sup> of hem lete brenne abowte me til that I be bore to church And thenne take the iij hole tapres and bere hem unto the iij upper Auters in my pariss<sup>h</sup> churche And the other iiij tapres that are brent be sette upon the iiij<sup>or</sup> lower Auters And thanne forthw<sup>t</sup> a dirige by note and xij massis on the morow and xij pore men and women with here children to here the service ther of And they to sey oure lady sawter Item I bequethe to the person for seying and syngyng atte my dirige viij<sup>d</sup> Also to every prest doynge the holy service for me with massis and all iiij<sup>d</sup> And every pore man and woman a j<sup>d</sup> and here mete in the pariss<sup>h</sup> Also whenne the cors is leid in the erthe that all the prestes assoille the body undir here seele Also I wol have every day this monyth folowyng iij massis of the Trinite of our lady and of the holy gost and iij pore men and women to here tho massis seying oure lady sawter And every prest shal have j<sup>d</sup> And every pore man j<sup>d</sup> Also I wol that every day in thik month the vij tapres brenne atte messe tyme in the worshipe of the sacrament And that the prey for me by name And that the tapres be renewed til the month be endet And atte ye month is ende I wol have xij masses and xij pore men and women seying oure lady sawter And I woll that every prest have j<sup>d</sup> And every pore man and woman of hem a j<sup>d</sup> and a lowe dirige And every prest therat ij<sup>d</sup> And so every monthes ende duryng xij month sewyng xij masses and xij pore men and women seying oure lady sawter and every prest a j<sup>d</sup> And every pore man and woman a j<sup>d</sup> Also more over it is my ful will and I wol have yerely every xij monthis ende a messe of requiem and a lowe dirige withoutenote and xij pore men and women heryng the servys of the pariss<sup>h</sup> seying oure lady sawter havynge bredde and ale as the maner is til the summe of xli be spent for my soule and the soules of



JOHN WOMBEWELL AND HIS FRIENDS IN INDIA.

THE PICTURES UPON THE WALL ARE THOSE OF HIS WIFE AND HER KINSFOLK.





my fadir and modir and of trew cristen peple and al my gode doers that I have ferd the better fore And that this be contynued til this seid x<sup>li</sup> be fully spent and more over if god sent it yow Item I bequethe to the almes of pore peple vij<sup>li</sup> of money this vij<sup>li</sup> to be fully spent in this maner use that ye hire an hors and ley ther in xiiij quartres of coles and a m<sup>l</sup> of bilet and dispose it thus to pore folk yef ther of litel and litel to pore folk. They that have wife and children delyvre hem ij busshels and xx<sup>ti</sup> billetes And they that have no children a busshell and x billetes And al one man or al one woman half a busshell and v billetes and let hem be refresshed often sithes to the somme yerely of xvij<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup> and more over if god send it til the somme of vij<sup>li</sup> be fully spent and more and god sent it yow Item I bequethe iiij ridelles to the iiij lowe auters with wepyng eyen with this poysy writen ther upon *Declina a malo et fac bonum* Also I bequethe to Anneys my wife in money x<sup>li</sup> and the bedde that I lye in and al that perteyneth to the seid bedde Also a coverlit and a testre of tapicers werk that sumtyme was Danyells and half a doz of peuter vessell that is to wete vj platers and vj saucers and al burdcloth and a towell of diaprewerk and ij paire shetes Item a basyn and a laver countrefait Item a grene gown furred with libbards and a medley gowne furred w<sup>t</sup> bevir and othir and a ridyng of medley Item I bequeth unto my sister a maser with a beryng bonde with a p<sup>nt</sup> a mydds of silver and overgilt Item and iij silver sponys marked with ermyn tailles and a basyn and a laver and every yere an noble whil she lyveth to pray for me and al cristen Also I bequethe to the same to the sams hous of nonnes of Mergate other iij silver sponys to the use of the covent perpetuall to pryve for me and all cristen Item I bequethe to Jonet Fuller my servant xiii<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> Item I bequeth to Robert Tharcot my servant that was xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> To Gillion on London brigge vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> Item to Thomas Brambill vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> Item I bequethe unto Symkyn Gold and his wife a coverlite of tapiceys werk w<sup>t</sup> a lyon and lebard and I bequethe to the same Symkyn an harnyssed gurdill with a blakke cors y harnesshed rounde a bowte Also I forgif William Smyth my prentys of his termes an yere and an half so that he truly labor to gete in my dettes to the executours and that he be undir governance of Clement Liffyn duryng the said termys. And I bequethe to the same William Smyth whan his termes be come up xl<sup>s</sup> Also I

relesse of certeyn sommes of money that is owed of sondry persons of detters Furst I relese unto John Walron of the somme of xxvj<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> I forgife hym vi<sup>li</sup> vi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> so that he pay xx<sup>li</sup> every weke xij<sup>d</sup> and atte the quarter ende x<sup>s</sup> wikely and quarterly til xx<sup>li</sup> be ful paied Item I forgif John Mark of xx<sup>li</sup> v<sup>li</sup> the seid John to paye xv<sup>li</sup> to myn executours withynne the quarter folowyng aftir my decesse Item I forgive the same mark of an obligation that Adrian Grove and he is bounde to me in of xij<sup>li</sup> of sterling xl<sup>s</sup> to be paied in the forme aforesaid Item I forgife John Everard al that he oweth me Item to John Lord I forgife x<sup>s</sup> of Caunterbury Item Middilton gentilman of Feversham I forgife him al his dette to me ward unto xx<sup>s</sup> Item William Covinton of Feversham I forgife him xxxv<sup>li</sup> every peny Item Gors of the Kynges benche I forgife hym of xij<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> in to vij<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> Item John Everton undirporter of the Tour I forgife hym xi<sup>s</sup> Item John Hill of Maideston I foryife him all his dette Item John Costantyn sherman I forgife xliij<sup>s</sup> Thomas Scottte drapor of xij<sup>li</sup> that he oweth me I foryeve hym unto iiij<sup>li</sup> Richard Shudd draper I forgife him al his dette Thomas Hamond of Caleys of ix<sup>li</sup> xij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> that he oweth me I forgeve him unto v<sup>li</sup> Item William Dormyk of Caleys oweth me vj<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup> I foryeve hit him Item Hwe servant of the Staple I foryeve hym all his dette Item Downe draper I forgife hym al his dette Item Nicholas Mondy I foryeve hym that he oweth me unto xx<sup>li</sup> And therof I yeve hym this ij<sup>o</sup> yere day of payment aftir my decesse to paye myn Executours and that he be delyvered out of prisoun Also I gife Wynter of Caunterbury my best harnesshed girdell with a blew cors Of this present testament I make overseer William Parker draper And myn executours I make Clement Lyfyn draper and William Reresby draper And I gef either of hem for her labour iiij nobles every of hem iij to their part Also I gyf my fadir an hanger harnesshed with silver Item I gife my modir the best pece of lynnyn cloth that I have over that that beleveth over my wyndyng cloth The residue of my godes noght bequoth aftir that the will of my testament be fulfilled and my dettes paid I wol that hit be disposed for my soule and al cristen aftir the will of myn exe<sup>c</sup> In witnes herof I putte to my seel And the gode that be sette to my wife I wol that hir fadir have it in governaunce Also I wol that Richard Shudd draper have al his gere ayeyn that he toke me in





CHEST OF DRAWERS OF FOREIGN WORKMANSHIP (LATE XVI CENTURY),  
WITH THE ARMS OF DABRIDGECOURT AND CARTWRIGHT



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plegge and that he pray for me I writen and made the yere and the day afore rehersed

Proved [no date given]. This will was afterwards declared void, and its registration was cancelled.

### III. THE WILL OF SIR THOMAS LATYMER, KNIGHT <sup>1</sup>

In the name of God amen The xiiij day of Septembre in the yeer of our Lord m<sup>c</sup>cccc and on I Thomas Latymere of Braybrok a fals knyght to God<sup>2</sup> thankyng God of hys mercy havynge siche mynde as he vouchit saff desyryngge that Goddes wyl be fulfillyd in me and in alle godys that he hath taken me to kepe ant to thaate make I my testament in this maner Furst I knowlyche on worthy to bequethyn to hym any thhyngge of my power and therfore i preye to hym mekely of hys grace that he wole take so pore a present as my wrecchud soule ys in to hys mercy thorw the besechyng of his blyssyd modyr and hys holy seyntyng and my wruchud body to be buryyd were that evere i dye in the nexte chirche yerd God vouchesaff and naut in the churche but in the uttereste corner as he that ys unworthi to lyn therinne save the mercy of God and that ther be non maner of cost don aboute my beryngge neyther in mete nether in dryngg non in no other thyngge but yt be to any swych on that nedyth it after the lawe of God save twey taperc of wax and anon as i be ded thud me in the erthe Also my wull ys pryncipaliche that my dedtes be payed that ys to seye thre maner of dettes the furste dette ys that i have borwyd of anyman or bout of any man or taken of any man and not payed therfore thys dette my wille ys to be payed furst the secunde dette ys to paye my servauntes here hyr that serven me or han servyd me and over that they be rewardyd by good discrecion be the oversite of Anne Latymer my wyve and Sire Lowes Clyfford and after the condicions that they standyn inne that ys to se afater the lengthe in ther servyce and after the bysynesse and the sor travayle and after that they han ben rewardyd more or lesse and also as they ben straunge or han fewe frendys or havynge syknesse or elde or other poverté and most special as they ben of condicion and nedy and also havynge reward to the quantyte of the goodes that leve behynde me the thrydde ys to my

<sup>1</sup> P.C.C. 2 Marche.

<sup>2</sup> The pious clauses of this will have their own interest, seeing that Sir Thomas was suspect of Lollardy.



tenauntes of thys condicion that yff any tenaunt of myn that hatt payed me ony sylver be it freyngge of her bodies or of here children or dowtris leve to wedde or sones to ben prestys or any man that hath made fyn for hous or lond or any other swych yff they be lettyd thorw Edward my brother or oni other that ys myn eyr after me i wul thanne that the reversion of Caldensland and the reversion that was Jons of Trafford be solde be Anne mi wyfe and restitution be mad to the seyd men or wymmen Also my wille is thys that yff ther be ani tenaunt man or woman longynge to lorschipe the qwhch i schuld have be servant to that been poor and feble por and blynde por and crokyd thanne after her nede and after the quantite of godis and after here condicion than be discrecion of the forsayde Anne and Lowes that they be reward and ferthermore it is mi wille that alle the londes that holde in fe symple ether be heritage or be purchas in fee or in reversion that is in feffies handis after mi decces that they feffe Anne mi wyf in that forseyd londes the terme of hir life And yiff it so be that Edward Latimer mi brother wul holde the covenauantes that he hat behight to me that is to seye that enpeche not Anne Latimer mi wyff of the Castell of Braybrok ne of the maner wyth londes rentis avuouesons of chirche and chapel and the Westhalle fee with alle other purchases and alle the portynauce w hem but lete hir holde it paysabeliche as as (*sic*) I have holden it ant conferme covenauantes that i have maad the wiche ben rehersed bi foore thanne the forsayde feffees to feffe Edward Latimer and eyris of his bodi Also this is my wull that yf Anne Latimer mi wiffe dye in myn absens or elles whan ever likith to hir to make a testament algates that the dettes aforesayd beyn payd that hire wulle be fullyd as fere forth as myn owene And if Edward Latimer my brother holde naut these covenauantes thanne reversion of the forsayde londes after the deces of the forsayd Anne to be sold and don for alle cristen soules be the disposicion of the forsayde Anne and Lowes And to thys testament troweliche executen ordeyne and do principaliche I desir and preye Anne Latimer mi wiff and Sire Lowes Clifford the on or bothe to been of overseers of alle these thyngges be fulfullid after the lawe of God myn executors of this testament I preie Thomas Wakeleyn Herry Sleyer Richard Marmion John Pulton and Janyn Baker and this be don in the name and in the worschip of God Amen

Proved 20 April 1402.

IV. THE WILL OF DAME ANNE LATYMER <sup>1</sup>

In the name of god Amen the xiiij day of July in the yeor of our lord m<sup>mo</sup> cccc<sup>mo</sup> and ij I Anne Latymer thankyng god of his mercy havynge sicke mynde as he voucheth saff desiring that godes wil be fulfilled in me and in alle goodes that hath take me to kepe and to that entent make my testament in this maner. First I be take my soule in to the hondes of god preynge to hym mekely of his grace that he wole take so pore a present as my wrechud soule is to his mercy And I wole my body to be beried at Braybroke beside my lord myn hosebonde Thomas Latymer yiff god wole. Also I be quethe to reparacioun of the caunsel and of the parsonage of the chirche of Braybroke xl<sup>s</sup> Also to make the brigge that my lord bygan xl<sup>s</sup> Also I bequethe xx<sup>li</sup> to be deled to nedy pore men and knowen by the discrecioun of the overseers and executores of my testament Also to Roger my brother xl<sup>s</sup> Also to Alysoun Bretoun v marks Also to Kalyn Okham xx<sup>s</sup> Also to Anneys xx<sup>s</sup> Also to Magote Deye xx<sup>s</sup> Also to Thomas Fetplas xxvj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> Also to John Pissoford x<sup>s</sup> Also to Robert Koke vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> Also to Wyllyam my brother man iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> Also to Wyllam Leycestrechyre x<sup>s</sup> Also I bequethe xl<sup>s</sup> to be departide among the remenant of my servauntes by the discrecioun of the executres and overseers of this testament The residue off my goodes I wole to be solde and deled to nedy pore men after the lawe of good by avisse and discrecioun of the overseers and executores of this testament And to this testament trewly executen ordeyne and do princypaly I desire and prey maystre Philipp Abbot of Leycestre and syre Lowes Clifford and Robert parson of Braybroke to be overseers that alle these thynges ben fulfilled after the lawe of god. Myn executores of this testament I praye S<sup>r</sup> Robert Lethelade parson of Kynmerton Thomas Wakeleyn S<sup>r</sup> Henry Slayer parson of Wardon and John Pulton. And thes be don in the name and in the worschepe of god Amen In wytnesse of this this (*sic*) testament I seele wyth my seale thes wytnesse S<sup>r</sup> Robert prest<sup>r</sup> of Braybroke Thomas Fetplas and Alysoun Bretoun. Wrete the yeer and day befor seide

Proved 27 Oct. 1402.

G. H.

<sup>1</sup> P.C.C. 3 Marche.

## MARGUERITE OF VALOIS

THE letters of Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador to the Court of France in 1583, and of Carlo Birago, a secret agent of Catherine de Medici, throw a very different light on the intrigues of Marguerite of Valois—more particularly on that between her and Harlay de Chanvallon—to that which the flattery of Brantôme or of Sainte-Beuve give us.

It must be confessed that a large part of the history of Queen Marguerite deals largely with her amours with various personages, from the Marquis de Canillac to her cook. And the following letters, found some years ago in an old chateau among the papers in the possession of a family which bore a prominent part in the events of that time, reveal a no more creditable part of her history. They deal however with a period of her life which has long been dark and obscured : to wit, the events which took place between her flight from Agen in 1585 to her captivity of eighteen years in the Castle of Usson.

The worthy Brantôme and Sainte-Beuve have followed Marguerite into the shadows, ignorant of the secret springs of action, the evidences of which stand revealed to us to-day. A bundle of old faded letters often throws more light on past events than all the lucubrations of the schoolmen and professors. There are parts in the history of nations which have never been written, and perhaps never will be, for to the historian of the day only a minute portion of the evidence was available, and of the mass of evidence existent, little perhaps now remains. The contents of a secret drawer may upset all the theories and ideas which have been stereotyped for the last three hundred years.

If the archives of the Vatican ever gave up their dead, what a revolution in history may take place. What secrets repose there, and how much unwritten history lies in the secret correspondence of Catherine de Medici in the Venetian archives, or is mouldering away in the garrets of many an old French and Spanish chateau.

Among the crowd of shades whose voiceless phantoms flit



across a ghostly stage, two figures stand forward in the dim twilight—Mary Stuart and Marguerite of Valois—third of the group of Marguerites ; daughter of Henry II. of France and Catherine de Medici : sister of Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III., wife of Henry IV. of France and Navarre—‘ The daughter, sister, and wife, of Kings.’

To understand the character of Marguerite aright, one must remember the state of religious and social life in France at the time. It is not generally realized that the term ‘ Huguenot ’ itself bears a very different meaning in the sixteenth to that which it does in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. In the time of Marguerite of Valois and her husband Henry of Navarre, the term embraced two parties, religious and political ; those who embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, or rather of Protestantism, and were prepared to sacrifice everything for liberty of conscience ; and those who joined the party of Navarre, either from dissatisfaction with the existing state of things, or from feudal attachment to the kingdom of Navarre : the latter section carrying with them the majority of the noblesse of Gascony. And this fact explains many of the apparent inconsistencies we find at this period. There were also three parties in France. The Ultramontane or Spanish, prepared to sacrifice all to orthodoxy—the party of the House of Guise—and the Huguenots—the latter not strictly synonymous with Protestantism, for it included many of Henry’s feudal nobility, personal friends, and ministers, who while remaining Catholics supported the cause of Navarre.

The rank and file of the Huguenots were of course Protestants : largely the inhabitants of the towns—the energetic, sober, well-to-do middle classes : the French puritans. It was in fact the leaning of the French puritans towards republicanism and secularisation of the estates of the church, which alienated many of the Gallican party in the church, who in the first conflicts, during the reign of Francis I., were disposed to toleration, and a measure of reform, while leaving to themselves freedom from Italian temporal interference, and the enjoyment of their dignity and estates.

Henry could scarcely be classed with the puritans—his wife was a catholic—and the Court at Pau and Nérac took its character from the king and queen : changed from the austere piety of Jeanne d’Albret and Bèza.

‘Our Court,’ says Marguerite in her Memoirs, ‘was so fair and agreeable, that we did not envy that of France. I had around me many ladies and maids-in-waiting, and my husband was attended by a gallant following of lords and gentlemen, in whom there was no fault to find, except that they were Huguenots.’ Even d’Aubigné, historian of the Reformation, says of the Court of Nérac, ‘we were all lovers there together.’

The time passed, as we learn from his history, in love-making, intrigues, and gaiety, varied by occasional phases of religion. It was perhaps in one of the latter, that Marguerite found time to write a letter, dated from Nérac 13 January 1583, to Jean de Galard, Sieur de Brassac, entreating him to set at liberty two soldiers of the Religion, whom he held under arrest at Brassac, contrary to the Edict of Pacification. She signs herself ‘Votre bien bonne amie, Marguerite.’ His reply was that they had committed theft and violence.

This Jean de Galard was certainly a Protestant at his death, as appears by his ‘acte de Décès,’ and he died excommunicate from the Church of Rome. His wife, Jeanne de la Roche-Andry, was a Protestant—and both he and his son René appear among the Protestant nobility and gentry of Angoumois, in a commission which laid their grievances before the king. René, his son, married Marie de la Roche-Beaucourt, and was ensign and afterwards lieutenant in the company of Coligny, and gentleman of the bed-chamber to Henry IV. In the following century, many of this family distinguished themselves in the armies of the Prince of Orange, and the States-general.

It would take too long to enter into the reasons for Marguerite’s sudden removal from Nérac in 1585. She appears to have tired of her husband’s court, especially as she had lost a great ally in the death of her brother the Duc d’Alençon, in June 1584. Her own excuse was the wish to keep Easter at Agen, a Catholic town, and her own personal appanage. The inhabitants received her with open arms, attributing her coming to her zeal for the Catholic religion. According to the chronicler she went with the laudable object of repairing the disorders of her past life by making war on the heretics: the said heretics being the subjects of her husband. She was joined by Lygnerac, with troops which he had raised in Quercy and Auvergne. While preparing however to make war on a

small scale, she had word that the Marshal de Matignon had orders from her brother the King of France to arrest her. Finding herself between two fires, and not altogether trusting in the attachment of the townspeople, she began to fortify herself, and threw up some improvised works within the town. To do this, she had to demolish some houses which stood between the Porte Neuve and the Convent of the Jacobins.

This high-handed proceeding so exasperated the wavering town, that it rose in revolt 'à son de tocsain,' and massacred a great number of her troops. After a short conflict in the narrow streets, the queen's troops were overwhelmed, the town being aided, probably by a preconcerted plan, by the forces of Henry from Nérac, some twenty miles distant. She herself was compelled to mount in haste, *en croupe*, behind Lygnerac, attended by Jean de Lart d'Aubiach, one of her esquires, his sister Marguerite, the queen's maid of honour, and thirty or forty horsemen. After being pursued for two days by Matignon, the party escaped to the Château of Carlat in the mountains of Auvergne. Thus began the wanderings of the queen, which ended in the imprisonment at Usson, for a period of eighteen years!

The following letter from Joseph de Lart de Birac, brother to d'Aubiach, to his brother-in-law, Henri de Noailles, gives an account of the rising in Agen, and the Queen's flight.

DE BIRAC, 29 Sept. 1585.

Monsieur mon frère, comme je pensois, de jour à l'autre envoyer en Limosin, pour entendre de vos nouvelles, j'ay tousjours esté prévenu tant de la mémoire du désastre qui nous est advenu <sup>1</sup> en la perte du feu monsr. nostre frère, que de l'angoisse que j'en portois et porte, et que je prevoyois que vous et tous ses appartenans en portiés; si, que je ne sçavois quel chemin y prendre. Mais à la fin, un très grand désir que j'ay de sçavoir de vostre estre, m'a relevé et mis en chemin d'y envoyer, non pas pour en ressusciter quelque chose qui vous puisse ou doive fascher, bien plus tost pour en méditer le sujet au ciel, où il est si heureux et contant, que tous les grands biens qu'il promettoit le luy, ça bas, ne sont rien au prix de celuy qu'il jouit, mesme en ce temps calamiteux, qui rend la mort plus desirable que la vye. Attendant donc une mesme félicité, je vous requiers me départir de vos nouvelles et portement, et de vouloir faire tousjours estat à mon humble service, auquel vous me trouverez disposé pour toute ma vye.

Je vous advise que les habitans d'Agen se sont eslevés contre la reyne de Navarre, à son de tocsain, et, après grande occision de ses gens et sur le conflit, elle, avertie que la victoire inclinoit pour les citoyens qui avoient forcé un de ses citadelles, et maistrisé la ville, réservé la citadelle des Jacobins, où elle s'estoit

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the assassination of Charles de Noailles, the result of domestic feuds.



retirée (quelque jours auparavant, mercredi dernier, que cela fut exécuté) et la porte de Saint Antoine, n'eut remède que se sauver en trousse avec quarante ou cinquante chevaux, mon frère étant du nombre.

Et le lendemain, suivie par monsr. le maréchal de Matignon, avec trois ou quatre cornettes de cavalerie ; mais il fust court, car elle avait gagné Cahors ou Quercy d'une traite. Mme. de Noailles, avec vos nièces, se retira dans le couvent de la Nonciade, ou elle se porte très bien, grâces à Dieu ; le quel je supplie, après vous avoir bien humblement baisé les mains, vous donner, Monsieur mon frère, en bonne santé heureuse et longue vie.

Vostre humble et obeissant frère, 'BIRAC.'

Joseph de Lart, seigneur de Birac, and his brother Jean, were the sons of Antoine de Lart, s' de Birac, de Galard d'Aubiach, and de Beaulens. The two latter baronies had come into the possession of the seigneurs of Birac, by the marriage of Gabriel, father of Antoine, with Anne de Galard, Dame de Beaulens and Aubiac.

The château of Birac, or Virac, was built in 1152 by Raymond, first seigneur, on lands granted to him. This Raymond was fourth in descent from Pedro Raymond de Lar, seigneur de Lara, a cadet of the house of Castile and Arragon. Through him the present representatives of the family claim lineal male descent from Constantin, founder of the royal house of Arragon : born 525, and massacred 27 November 602.

The fief of Birac remained in the possession of the elder branch until the year 1596, when it passed by the marriage of Henriette, heiress of Joseph de Lart, to Agesilas de Narbonne. It is probable that this letter was not written from Birac, which is thirty miles from Nérac, but from the 'Hostel' or town house in Nérac, called the 'Maison de Birac,' which still exists ; now the many-gabled, red-tiled Convent, in the Rue du Pont de Lart. It stands in an enclosure of some four or five acres, surrounded by a high defensive wall, flanked by four tourelles.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the family had ramified into several branches, all of which espoused the cause of Navarre, though remaining Catholic. Bertrand, chief of the branch of Rigoulières, still existing, was Chancellor of Henry IV. and Master of the Horse in 1624. A letter still exists from the king to his 'bon amy et fidele serviteur,' concerning a secret mission undertaken by him. In the persecutions of the next century, several members migrated to Holland and England. It is probable that Antoine de Lart, though claimed as a Catholic, was a Protestant. His wife was Renée

de Costin de Bourzolles, whom he married in 1534, of a family which took an active part on the Protestant side. He paid homage to Henry of Navarre in 1538. His eldest daughter, Gabrielle, Baronne de Beaulens, married 2 August 1559, Charles de Bazon, Governor of Nérac, in the Château of Nérac, and in presence of Antoine de Bourbon and Jeanne d'Albret—and therefore, it may be presumed, according to the rites of the reformed Church. His second daughter, before-mentioned, was maid of honour to Queen Marguerite, and was commonly known as 'Mademoiselle d'Aubiac.'

The eldest son Joseph, S' de Birac, married, 25 February 1572, Marie de Noailles, daughter of Antoine de Noailles, Ambassador to England in 1554, and of his wife Jeanne de Gontaut-Cabrères.

The second son, Jean, commonly known as 'd'Aubiac,' gained an unenviable notoriety by his intrigue with the queen.

According to one account he was 'un homme le plus laid de son temps.' However this may have been, he had every opportunity of falling under the sinister charms of the queen; which, according to d'Aubigny, 'were so dangerous, that it was difficult to defend oneself when she chose to exert them.'

The château and village of Aubiac is only a few miles from Nérac and Agen. His sister was a maid of honour, and as he himself became one of her equerries, he was in constant attendance at court. He is said to have exclaimed, on first setting eyes on the queen: 'Mon Dieu, l'amiable personne! Si j'étois jamais assez heureux pour lui plaire, je n'aurois pas regret à la vie: dussé je la perdre une heure après.' Words of evil omen, as events proved.

According to La Ferrière, 'he never could have hoped, with his red hair, freckled skin, and rubicund nose, to become the lover of a daughter of France.' Cavriana, the Tuscan Ambassador, gives a more favourable description of him, viz., that he was 'noble, jeune, brave, mais audacieux et indiscret.'

\* \* \* \* \*

Marguerite succeeded in outriding her pursuers, and came at last to Carlat, a secluded château in the mountains of Auvergne. It belonged to a gentleman at the queen's court, named Lygnerac, another of her many admirers. Bazin, in his *Etudes de l'Histoire et de Biographie*, says of this place of refuge, that it 'smelt more like a den of thieves than a resi-

dence of a princess, a king's daughter, sister and wife.'<sup>1</sup> Lygnerac, as will appear, seems to have been more of a robber chief than a French courtier.

This sojourn at Carlat lasted for some months. It was during this time that the queen had a second child, which according to Bazin, 'resta sourd et muet.'

At length the noise of this fresh scandal reached the ears of her brother Henry III. ; her husband, Henry of Navarre, apparently took no interest in his queen's doings. Henry was roused to even greater wrath than before, and ordered the arrest of Marguerite, and the execution of Aubiac : and orders were given to the Marquis de Beaufort-Canillac<sup>2</sup> to effect this.

Word of this however came to Carlat, and the queen, attended by d'Aubiac, his sister and a few others, left Carlat hurriedly for Iboy, a place belonging to Catherine de Medici, as Comtesse d'Auvergne. Lygnerac, seeing that things had come to a crisis, and probably being jealous of Aubiac, threw off all disguise, and treated the queen with contempt and harshness, as appears by a letter quoted by Guessard in *Mémoires de Marguerite de Valois*.

La vérité est telle, que le sieur de Lignerac, pour quelque méscontentement et jalousie qu'il a eu de la royne de Navarre, qu'elle ne se saisit du Chasteau, l'a chassée : et si vous cognoissiez l'humour de l'home, vous penseriez que c'est une quinte aussy tost prise aussy tost exécutée. Il a retenu quelque bagues en paiement, come il dist, de dix mil livres qu'il a despendus pour elle, qui, après avoir bien contesté en son esprit, se resolut de s'en aller a Millefleur, et se mit en chemin à pied avec Aubiac et une femme ;<sup>3</sup> puy sur le chemin fut mise sur un cheval de bast ; et après dans une charette à beufs, et come elle fut dans ung village nommé Colombe, un gentilhome nommé Langlas, qui estoit lieutenant dans Usson luy offrit le chasteau, et l'y mena. Aussi tost qu'elle y fust arrivé, luy mesme s'en va trouver le marquis de Canillac<sup>4</sup> à Saint-Hicques, qui monte a cheval, et s'estant faict ouvrir la porte, il demande ledict Aubiac caché entre les murailles. Il le prend, et le met entre les mains d'ung prevost. Le marquis despescha incontinent le jeune Monmaurin au Roy et à la Royne mère.

\* \* \* \* \*

A full account of the flight and capture is given in the following letter of Henri de Noailles to his mother (*née* Jeanne de Gontaut), dated 29 October 1586.

<sup>1</sup> Sentant plus sa tannière de larrons, que la demeure d'une princesse, fille, sœur et femme des rois.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Timoléon De Beaufort-Montboissier.

<sup>3</sup> Marguerite de Lart de Birac.

<sup>4</sup> Canillac was Governor of Usson.



Nous sommes encore en ses cartiers attendant le retour de monsieur le marquis de Canillac, qui n'est encores venu de la Lymaigne, ou il alla après la royne de Navarre, ayant sceu du chemin, come nous venions de dessa, qu'elle estoit partie soudainement de Carlat, pour prendre ceste route avecq peu de gens. Je ne vous mandois rien par ma précédente despeche, faicte a Margoullès, du comancement de ceste tragedie, parce que je pensois que La Font, que j'attendois plus-tost qu'il ne vint, deut estre à vous un jour ou deux apres, et me remettant encores a ce que vous en pourres apprendre de luy, je vous diray seulement cependant en sommaire que la farsse est telle que celuy qui l'avoit conduite a Carlat, ayant heu oppinion qu'on le vouloit chasser, de la prenant ce prétexte, il se randit metre de la place et dit a *Marion*<sup>1</sup> qu'il failloit que *l'oncle d'Ysabeau*<sup>2</sup> sautât le rochier, nouvelle qui luy fut si rude qu'elle se tresva bien en peine, et après avoir garanty par prières et aultrement ce personnaige, elle ayma mieux vuyder et changer de place que demeurer là sans luy. Et ayant prins son chemin en croupe derrière luy, et accompagnée encore de Cambon, de Lignerac et de quelques aultres de sa maison, de ses filhes et Mademoyselle d'Aubiac, elle se retira à un chasteau près Lancher, qui est a la royne mère du roy, appelé Yvoy, où, pour estre suyvie de fort près par ledit sieur marquis, avec quarante ou cinquante gentilshommes, qui avoit commandement du roy de s'ensaisir, elle se trouve tant surprinse qu'elle fut contrainte d'ousvrir la porte après avoir faict un peu semblant de se deffandre, et Aubiac, qui s'estoit desguysé pour se sauver, fut reconnu et mené à une maison du dict sieur marquis, appelée Saint Cirque, et la dite Marion à une petite ville auprés en attendant la volonté du roi, vers qui le dict sieur marquis avoit despeché, et croys que cela le retient, mais on n'attend l'heure qu'il arrive. On dit que cette paouvre princesse est si éplorée qu'elle s'arrache tous les cheveux. Lynerac l'a traictée fort cruellement et contrainte de payer jusques au dernier denier de tout ce qu'il lui a mis en avant qu'elle luy devoit et contrainte de luy laisser des gaiges. Jugez le bien qu'elle en doit dire. A la vérité, cela est estrange. Je croy qu'on la gardera bien asteure de courre.

Henry de Noailles adds the following postscript to this letter :—

D'ORLAC, 11 Novembre 1586.

P.S.—J'ay depuis veu Monsr. de Bournazel, qui m'a dit que Mlle. de Birac s'estoit retirée à Saint Vitour avec cent escus qu'on luy donna. Il m'a confirmé comme Marion est fort éplorée de se voir prinse : Aubiac est entre les mains du prévost, ne sachant encores ce qu'il doit devenir. On attendoit des nouvelles du roy : cependant la dite Marion est à une petite ville appelée Saint-Amand, avec cent harquebuziers de garde. On m'a fait voir une belle lettre qu'elle avoit escrite durant son siège, dont je n'ay heu le loisir de tirer encore copie.

\* \* \* \* \*

In these trying circumstances, Marguerite wrote several letters to her brother the King of France, her mother, Catherine

<sup>1</sup> Marguerite of Navarre.

<sup>2</sup> L'oncle d'Ysabeau, i.e. d'Aubiac. Ysabeau was one of the four daughters of his brother Joseph de Lart and Marie de Noailles : commonly known as Ysabeau de Lart de Galard.

de Medici, and to M. de Sarlan, maître d'hôtel of the latter. One is worth quoting as showing the curious mixture in her character. Reading it by itself, with no knowledge of the real state of affairs, one would imagine the queen to have been the most virtuous, persecuted and unfortunate of mortals.

A Monsieur de Sarlan.

Monsieur de Sarlan, puisque la cruauté de mes malheurs et ce ceux à qui je ne rendis jamais que services est si grande que, non contents des indignités que depuis tant d'années ils me font pastir, (ils) veulent poursuivre ma vie jusques à la fin, je désire au moins, avant ma mort, avoir ce contentement que la Roynne ma mère sache que j'ay eu assez de courage pour ne tomber vive entre les mains de mes ennemys, vous protestant que je n'en manquerai jamais. Assurez l'en, et la première nouvelle qu'elle aura de moy sera ma mort. Soubs son asseurement et commandement je m'estois sauvée chez elle, et au lieu de bon traictement que je m'y promettois, je n'y ay trouvé que honteuse ruine.

Patience ! elle m'a mise au monde, elle m'en veut oster. Si sais-je bien je suis entre les mains de Dieu ; rien ne m'advientra contre sa vollonté ; j'ay ma fiance en luy et recevrai tout de sa main. Vostre plus fidèle et meilleure amye,

MARGUERITE.

d'Aubiac had not long to wait before he knew his fate : the Marquis de Canillac carried out the king's commands, and took the opportunity of removing two other aspirants to the queen's favour at the same time.

d'Aubiac was hung a few weeks later at Aigueperce, and with him also Bussey d'Amboise and Lamolle. He died with a piece of blue velvet sleeve in his hand, which he never ceased to kiss to the last—all that remained to him of the queen's favour.

The queen apparently was for the time so overcome with grief that she omitted to carry out the alarming threats of her letter. She however composed a sonnet to d'Aubiac.

The captivity of Usson, which lasted for eighteen years, during which time her husband, Henry of Navarre, had 'purchased Paris for a Mass,' had been divorced from his wife, and remarried to Marie de Medici, has been variously described. Some historians, who ascribe all the virtues to the queen, describe the Castle of Usson as 'Mount Tabor pour sa dévotion, un Libanon pour sa solitude, un Olympe pour ses exercices, un Parnasse pour ses Muses, et un Caucasus pour ses afflictions.' One other however, Matthieu, not content with enumerating the above, gives himself away by adding 'un Citheren pour ses amours.'

Certain it is that Canillac fell a victim to the fascinations

of Marguerite. Père Hilarion de Coste tells us that 'he imagined he was going to conquer her, and one sight of her ivory arm conquered him.'

Others with fulsome adulation, liken Usson to Noah's Ark : a sacred temple of purity and peace ! Alas for history ! what are we to believe ? There are others who tell us that Usson was not all that the panegyrists painted it.

The characters who acted their little parts in these events have long been dust : but the strange figure of the Queen of Navarre still lives. The sun of Gascony shines warm on the red roofs and grey walls of Nérac, and of Aubiac away on the hills above the Auvignon. But no archers tread the crumbling battlements, or mailed knights clatter up the narrow streets. The little town sleeps in quiet after centuries of storm and stress, undisturbed by sound of shot or clash of steel. The pigeons which bask on the warm tiles of the convent are almost the only sign of life about the place, which breathes an atmosphere as of immemorial chant and psalm.

The blank casements of Carlat and Iboy stare across the sunny vineyards like the dead eyes of those who have no part or lot henceforth in anything that is done under the sun. But the cicada unceasingly shrills in the grass, the lizards flicker among the stones, and a cool Pyrenæan breeze sings in the ilex, and speaks of life.

In spite of all this queen was beloved. To this day in the Auvergne her memory is cherished by the peasantry. 'Entrez dans la plus pauvre chaumière, isolée, perdue dans les montagnes, on vous parlera d'elle. Marguerite est passée a l'état de legende : elle le doit au souvenir de ses bienfaits.'

CHARLES E. LART.



## THE CLINTON FAMILY

## II

TO deduce correctly the descent of notable families, and to discover their alliances during the first couple of centuries after the Conquest, is not only to render a genuine service to history, but to accomplish the most difficult of tasks. Over a later period the importance of genealogy goes on steadily diminishing, as the materials for it increase. The great Calendars of the Patent and Close Rolls, for mediæval England, are on the verge of completion, and the revision of his *Complete Peerage* will soon be possible for the last new and appreciative citizen of the empire, under his own distant palm tree. He will find, for instance in one of his green Patent Roll volumes, a 'Notification,' dated 20 February 1314-5, 'that Ida, late the wife of John de Clynton, widow, is the first born daughter, and one of the four daughters of William de Oddyngesele, deceased,' and from the volumes, which we are promised, of Calendars of 'Inquisitions post mortem and analogous documents,' he will doubtless be able to satisfy his curiosity as to her ancestry and her inheritance. All that I have to do, in other words, is to summarize, as briefly as possible, what is already or what will shortly be in print.

I had promised myself, at this point, an *excursus* upon the doctrine of 'ennobling blood,' tending to show that, if Ida de Clinton's posterity have, without interruption, received summons to parliament, the reason is to be sought not only in their landed estate, to which she signally contributed, but in her illustrious parentage on both sides. There was also something to be said in explanation of the Irish affinities of her immediate kinsfolk; but inasmuch as the Clintons themselves remained English, and the earlier pedigree is in no way essential to establishing the match between John de Clinton (V.) and Ida his wife, I have decided to let these attractive side inquiries go.

After a distinguished career elsewhere, including service in Scotland, William de Oddingeseles was appointed justiciary of Ireland, 19 October 1294. On 28 October in the same



year the custody of the castle of Donymegan was committed to him, and on 25 November following he had a grant, for his service, 'of the land and castle of Donymegan in Connaught, Ireland, in fee, by the service of two knights' fees.' He died, 19 April 1295, at least that is the date, according to the Chancellor's Roll (*Irish Cal.*), on which his salary ceased and his successor's began. His lands in England were thereupon seised into the king's hands, and on 12 May 1295 two writs issued, the one of *diem clausit*, while the other recites, that it has been shown on the part of Ela, late the wife of William de Oddingeseles, tenant in chief, deceased, that, whereas she was enfeoffed with the said William in the manor of Olton, and of certain land, etc., in Solihull, co. Warwick, nevertheless it has been taken into the king's hands, as though William had died seised thereof in fee.

Two inquisitions were taken in response to the writ of *diem clausit*, in the counties of Herts and Warwick respectively. By the former taken Monday the morrow of the Holy Trinity, 23 Edward I. (23 May 1295), it was found that William died seised in fee, in the town of Pyritone, of a messuage, 200a. arable, 10a. mowing meadow, 10a. pasture, services of bondmen, 10a. wood, rent of assize, profits of courts and half a water-mill, held of Robert de Pynkeny by homage; and that Edmund de Oddingeseles, his son and heir, is twenty-two years old.

By the Warwickshire inquisition taken at Makstok, Tuesday after the Holy Trinity, 23 Edward I. (24 May 1295), it was found that he held the manors and advowsons of Solyhull and Makstok, namely moieties thereof of Sir Hugh de Oddynge-seles, by service of half a knight's fee, and the other moieties of Sir Robert de Pynkeny, by service of a pair of gilt spurs and by service of a quarter of a knight's fee respectively. He had fourteen free tenants at Merston and Cotes, held of the earl of Oxford, by one twelfth of a knight's fee. He was patron of the church of Arley, held of Sir Hugh de Oddynge-seles. Theobald de Nevyle and John Hastang held a knight's fee of him in Buddebok, which he held of Hugh de Oddynge-seles. On the day of his death his son Edmund was his heir, and of full age, who had since died. The said Edmund had four sisters, Ida, Ela, Alice and Margaret. Margaret is under age; she was eighteen years old at Whitsun last (15 May 1295).

With regard to the claim advanced by Ela, his widow, it was found by another inquisition taken also at Makstok, and on the same day, that she was so seised for four and a half years before William's death, to hold to them and William's heirs, of the fee of Hugh de Oddingeseles, belonging to half a knight's fee held of the said Hugh in Solyhull and Makstok. She was also jointly enfeoffed with William of 12*d.* yearly rent in Makstok, of the fee of Sir Robert de Pynkeneye, as above. William and Ela bought the said tenements of the tenants of the same William, which tenements were charged with 28*s.* to the said William and his heirs yearly before the said William and Ela bought them.

The above findings are eloquent of the origins of the endowment of this branch of the Oddingeseles' family, a matter, however, upon which we are agreed not to enlarge. For the rest, it is evident from the returns, that William de Oddingeseles was a mesne tenant, and that the king had no title to wardship or marriage in respect of any of his lands—of any of his lands, that is to say, in England. But how about the castle and land of Donymegan in Ireland, of which we have already heard? We are still so much at the beginnings of history, that it was, to all appearance, a test case, which we find stated accordingly, as follows—

Edward par la grace de dieu roi Dengleterre seigneur Dirland et ducs Daquytayne au Tresorer et as Barons del Eschequer salut. Nous auons entendu que Guillame Doddingeseles qui est a dieu comande ne tynt de nous en chief terres ne tenementez en Engleterre ne ailleurs le iour quil moreust fors qe tantseulement celes qui nous li donames en Irland ne gueres auant le Noel precheinement passez a tenir de nous en chief. Et pur ce que nous en voloms estre certefiez plus pleinement par aucunes reisons vous mandoms que sur ce faciez serchier et regarder nos roules et les remembrances del Eschequer Et puis ce qui vous enaurez troue ensemblement vos descrescions si par reeson du dit doun deuons selonc la ley et lusage de notre roiaume auer la garde del heir et des terres quil tenoit par tot en notre roiaume en Engleterre et ailleurs ou noun, nous faciez sauoir distinctement souz le seal de notre Eschequer auantdit. Don' desouz notre priue seal a Keleseyn le. viij. iour de Juyn lan de notre regne .xxij. (8 June 1295).

The above document is, at present, filed up with the three inquisitions which we have already abstracted (*Chancery Inquisitions post mortem, 1st Series, 23 Edward I. first numbers No. 130*). The reply, whatever its nature, returned by the Exchequer officials, was not held to be decisive, and, pending a final decision, a *modus vivendi* was arrived at within the following month, as appears by two writs preserved in the

series known as 'Escheators' Inquisitions. Citra Trentam. 23 Edward I Nos. 8 and 9:—

Edwardus, etc. Quia de gratia nostra speciali concessimus Ide, Ele, Alicie, et Margarete, filiabus et heredibus Willelmi de Oddingeseles, nuper defuncti, per manucaptionem Philippi de Verney et Johannis de la Wade, duas partes omnium terrarum et tenementorum cum pertinenciis de quibus idem Willelmus fuit seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo in balliva vestra die quo obiit et que post mortem ejusdem Willelmi in manum nostram cepistis, tenendum usque ad proximum parliamentum nostrum, ita quod de exitibus inde provenientibus nobis totaliter respondeant, si ad nos pertinere debeant; vobis mandamus quatinus prefatis heredibus predictas duas partes omnium terrarum et tenementorum predictorum cum pertinenciis liberari faciatis in forma predicta, tenendum per manucaptionem predictam. Teste W. Bathoniensi et Wellensi episcopo, thesaurario nostro, apud Westmonasterium, secundo die Julii, anno regni nostri xxiiij<sup>o</sup> (2 July 1295). *Endorsed* ij die Julii apud London' mittitur subscacatori in comitatibus Hertf, Warr', Staff', et Rotel'.

And again—

Edwardus, etc., Quia Johannes de Clinton junior et Philippus de Verney, qui sequuntur pro Ida, Ela, Alicia et Margareta, filiabus et heredibus Willelmi de Oddingeseles defuncti coram Thesaurario et baronibus nostris de scaccario concesserunt quod tertia pars omnium terrarum et tenementorum cum pertinenciis, de quibus idem Willelmus fuit seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo in balliva vestra, die quo obiit, et que per mortem ejusdem Willelmi in manum nostram jam cepistis per nos assignetur Ele, que fuit uxor prefati Willelmi in dotem; vobis mandamus, etc. *Date and endorsement as above, with 'ita quod . . . capiat sacramentum' added.*

We may venture, I think, without injustice to the conditions then, or at any other time prevalent in Ireland, to suppose that something in the nature of a dispute had, in all probability, led to the extinction of the male line of Oddingeseles; that the father, a fighting man, was killed outright, and that the son succumbed to his wounds. Two lives at any rate of William de Oddingeseles' coheirs were, it seems, exterminated in the same country in like fashion within the next fifty years.

Of the four coheirs of William de Oddingeseles, Ida the eldest married, as we already know, John de Clinton, styled 'the younger,' 'of Amington,' presumably after his mother's decease (see vol. viii. p. 190), and 'of Maxstoke'—not yet a castle—licence to 'crenellate' was only granted in 1345, as we shall see, after his marriage. At what date they were married does not appear. The mention of him, just above, as suing at the Exchequer on behalf of the sisters, suggests that he was married to Ida before the deaths of her father and brother. If the dates are correct and the identity established



in the manner suggested in the previous volume, he was a man of close upon forty in 1295, his birth dating back to 1258. Ida's brother, on the other hand, was aged twenty-two at his death, was born that is to say about 1273, while her third and youngest sister was apparently born on 15 May 1277. We may accordingly assume that Ida herself was born about 1270, and that she was married about 1290 to a man twelve years her senior. I do not however believe, with the dates of the subsequent pedigree before me, that her son and heir was born before 1300. It is accordingly possible that she was still unmarried at the age of twenty-five, that the deaths of the males of her house and her accession to fortune brought suitors, and that when she was thirty and her husband forty-two the heir was born. The lords Clinton, in any case, descended from her, and inherited her portion, which consisted of the manor and advowson of Maxstoke, and the alternate presentation to the church of Arley.

Ela, the second daughter, is stated to have married 'Peter Fitz James Mac Phioris' de Bermingham, and to have been the mother of the earl of Louth, lord justice of Ireland in 1321, who was 'with his brothers Robert and Peter, and many of his race, treacherously slain,' in 1329, 'by the rebellious Irish.' In addition to Solihull, where as we shall see some part of her inheritance lay, she was presumably allotted a share of the Oddingeseles' estate in Ireland, and the above was the natural result.

The third daughter, Alice de Oddingeseles, had her portion in England, but she married in Ireland,—and you shall hear the consequences. I do not know if the little history has been set out before, but with the great green calendars to hand, it is only necessary to turn up a few references to recover it. The Irish Calendar abounds in references to the name of Caunton, variously spelt. Her husband, Sir Maurice, was one of this family. In November 1301 and April 1302 she was resident with him in Ireland, and 'Maurice de Cauntetone and Alice, his wife,' are licensed to appoint attorneys for all pleas in the English courts. In due time however we arrive at the inevitable entry; it is on the Patent Roll, 9 September 1319:—Grant to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, of all lands and tenements in England, late of Maurice de Caunton, and William de Caunton, his son, adherents to the king's enemies in Ireland, where the said Maurice was killed, and

the said William taken prisoner . . . ; on 26 October, in the same year, the king is found stating that, although he could have presented to the church of Solihull, lately void, by reason of the lands of Maurice de Caunton, who lately was killed in Ireland fighting against the king, nevertheless he is content to confirm the presentation made thereto by the bishop of Ely, saving the rights of Aymer de Valence.

The church of Solihull was, as we know, part of the Oddingeseles' inheritance, and could not by any manner of means have been affected by any treason, or subsequent attainr, of either Maurice, or of his son, in the lifetime of Alice to whom the alternate presentation had presumably descended. I judge therefore, from the following entry, that she survived, but did not long survive, her husband. It is the presentation by the king, entered on the Patent Roll, 26 August, 1320, of Nicholas de Moreby to the church of Solihull, in the king's gift—note how much better informed he has become—by reason of his custody of the lands and tenements late of Alice de Caunton, tenant in chief. This again is revoked on 16 October following, and the presentation made, as above, by the bishop of Ely is again allowed. In the following year the heir came of age, and in the year after that two inquisitions were taken upon a writ of *Mandamus* dated 8 May, 15 Edward II. (1322). By the first of these taken at Solihull, co. Warwick, 21 May, 15 Edward II. (1322), it is found that Alice de Caunton held a quarter of a messuage and the moiety of a carucate in Solihull of John de Odyggeseles by fealty only, worth 10s., and that David her son is her next heir, and is of the age of twenty-two years. The second inquisition was taken at Hertford on Monday after the Octave of the Holy Trinity, 15 Edward II. It is found that Alicia de Caunton held in chief, in the town of Pirton, a moiety of the manor of Pirton ; to this moiety there belong a messuage and two carucates of land, worth 20l. ; it is held of the king in socage, by fealty and a pair of gilt spurs, price 6d., and to the view of frankpledge of Altonishevyd, by the hands of the sheriff of Herts, to be received yearly, 2s. 8d. for all service. David de Caunton is her son and next heir, of the age of twenty-two years. The moiety used to be held of Henry de Pyngkeney, after whose death the lordship came to the hand of king Edward the now king's father, in what way is unknown.

All this is peaceful enough, and English, but there is still the Irish background, dark and threatening. We have heard that when Sir Maurice was slain, his son William was made prisoner. Possibly they hanged him, but he had left issue, very young as yet, but with friends, who forward the following petition, filed with the above inquisitions (*Chancery Inquisitions post mortem*, 1st series, 15 Edward II. No. 4):—

Voiletz Sir Chaunceler si vous plect comander qe preiudice ne soit fait au verre heir Sir William Caunteton qui morust nageres en Irlaund par lenqueste qest prise par le Eschetour de la Trente a la seute Dauid frere le dit Sir William qui est en Engleterre et ad taunt procure qe la dite enqueste est passe par simple gentz qui nul conisaunce nauerent du fet qui ount dit quil le dit Dauid est prochein heir le dit Sir William en deseritaunce du dit heir qui est en Irlaund et del age de cink auntz et ausi en deseritaunce des seignurages du fee. par quoi sir vous plese comander qe autre enqueste soit prise par chialers et bones gentz qui ount conisaunce du droit le dit heir.

David de Caunton, who thus poses as the wicked uncle, defrauding his nephew, the lawful heir, established his claim, possibly as heir to his mother, upon the outlawry in her lifetime of his elder brother, possibly upon some plea of the illegitimacy of his brother's issue, a constant source of trouble when Irish heirship came to be tried by English tests; but that his claims or rights were resisted is evident from an entry on the Close Roll. Not till 10 February 1326-7, nearly five years later, does an order issue to the escheator to intermeddle no further with a quarter messuage and a half carucate in Solihull, the king learning that Alice de Caunton held at her death of the king a moiety of the manor of Periton, etc., and that David de Caunton is her son and heir.

Meanwhile the Valence family waited patiently, and as soon as it was decided whom they had to sue, laid claim to the whole Caunton inheritance, unless, as is quite possible, they had been in more or less quiet possession of Purton manor ever since the grant made to them on 9 September 1319. In any case the following entry occurs on the Close Roll, under date 10 July 1327:—

To John de Bousser, Gilbert de Toutheby, and John de Cantebrigge, order to proceed to take the assize of novel disseisin arramed before them by David son of Alice de Caunton against Mary, late the wife of Aymer de Valence, late Earl of Pembroke, and others named in the original writ, concerning tenements in Periton and Kemyton, and to proceed to render judgment therein with all speed, notwithstanding the king's late order not to proceed to render judgment



without consulting him, which order he made because Mary alleged before them that the late King by his charter, which she produced, gave the tenements, to wit the manor of Peryton, to the said Aymer, and that they were assigned to her in dower.

The decision was undoubtedly in David's favour—it is difficult to see how it could possibly have been adverse to him, and he was free to attend to his Irish interests. Notices recur of his passage to Ireland. I select one, on the Patent Roll, 4 May 1336:—David de Caunton, going to Ireland, has letters nominating Roger de Luda (*scilt.* Louth, a great name in Hertfordshire) and Lawrence de Ayet (another neighbour of whom we shall hear again) his attorneys in England for one year. He also married. Then on 1 October 1340 he died. His widow Joan re-married with Lawrence de Ayete, whose coheirs (he died 3 December 1353) by some previous wife are famous as the 'intruded heirs' in one of the most complicated and prolonged law suits ever known, as may be seen under 'Dodford' in Baker's *History of the County of Northampton*. I mention this inasmuch as our Caunton investigations correct Baker's pedigree, who apparently considers our 'Joan' to have been the mother of the Ayete coheirs, which from the Caunton side is impossible. Baker's work needs no apology; but it is worth mentioning, as illustrative of the pitfalls prepared by the ancients for later day enquirers, that whereas, within a year, inquisitions were taken after the deaths both of Lawrence de Ayet, and, as we shall shortly see, of Joan, his widow, there is not a word in the former, or in the writ attached to it, to show that she had been previously married to David de Caunton, or in the latter, or in the accompanying writ, to show that she had ever been the wife of Lawrence de Ayet; though when we have, from other sources, discovered that such was indeed the case, our conclusion is confirmed by the date of the lady's death, which is assigned in both documents to the same day.

On 10 June 1343, as appears by an entry on the Patent Roll (cf. *Inquisitions Ad quod damnum*, file 265, No. 11), Lawrence de Ayete and Joan his wife, in consideration of 40s. fine paid by Lawrence, are licensed to hold a moiety of the manor of Pirton, co. Herts, with remainder to her heirs by David de Caunton, knight, her late husband, with remainder to William de Clynton, earl of Huntingdon, and his heirs, in accordance with a settlement made, without licence, by the

said David and Joan—a settlement made possibly for money, possibly to secure the earl's support, or possibly to bar the other descendants of his father, his nephew in particular.

Lawrence de Ayete died, as I have said, 3 December 1353. His widow did not long survive, and from an inquisition taken at Pyriton, co. Herts, upon a writ of *diem clausit*, Thursday after Easter, 28 Edward III. (17 April 1354), and from the documents filed with it, we learn the rest of the remarkable history. It was found that she held a moiety of the manor of Pyriton in fee tail of the king in chief, by the grant of Adam Doverton, parson of Ibestok (co. Leicester) and Henry de Sodyngton, parson of Esshetesford (co. Kent), to hold to the said David, now long deceased, and Joan, and the heirs of their bodies, with remainder in default to William de Clynton, earl of Huntyngdon and his heirs, with the king's charter of licence. The said David and Joan had issue a daughter, born in Ireland, and whether she be alive or not the jurors do not know. The said moiety is held of the king, by service of one knight's fee; it is worth 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The said Joan died on Tuesday after St. Gregory the Pope last (Tuesday, 18 March 1353-4). The said daughter, if alive, is her heir, and is aged sixteen years and more.

Next follows a writ, dated 6 June, 28 Edward III. (1354), addressed by the king to J., Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellor of Ireland. Supplication is made to us, it states, on behalf of John son of Nicholas de Kery, that whereas by our letters patent, under our seal in Ireland, we gave him, for his good service, the custody of all the lands in Ireland which were of David de Caunton, knight, in our hands by reason of David's death and the minority of his heir, till the full age of the said heir, and whereas upon the untrue suggestion of William son of Edmund de Caunton, by writ under the great seal of England directed to you, the said lands have been taken again into our hands, we wish to be certified of the tenor of such writ, of the process of taking again the said lands from the said John, and of the inquisition taken upon David's death.

Thereupon follows the reply of the Chancellor. Nothing is found. It was said here, in council, that Sir Maurice Caunton, father of David, whose heir David was, as is asserted, forfeited, or was outlawed for rebellion (*vel forisfecit erga Dominum Regem, equitando de guerra cum vexillo explicato, contra vexillum Regis in Hibernia, vel ea occasione utlagatus*

*fuit*) ; it is not found by what process David came to the said lands, but it is believed that David did his homage in England, and had restitution there ; this can be verified by the rolls of the English Chancery. Nevertheless the (said) lands and tenements, of late, by the death and by reason of the forfeiture of David, son of William de Caunton, nephew of the said David de Caunton, who slew the said David, and after his death intruded himself thereon, were taken into, and are in, the king's hands.

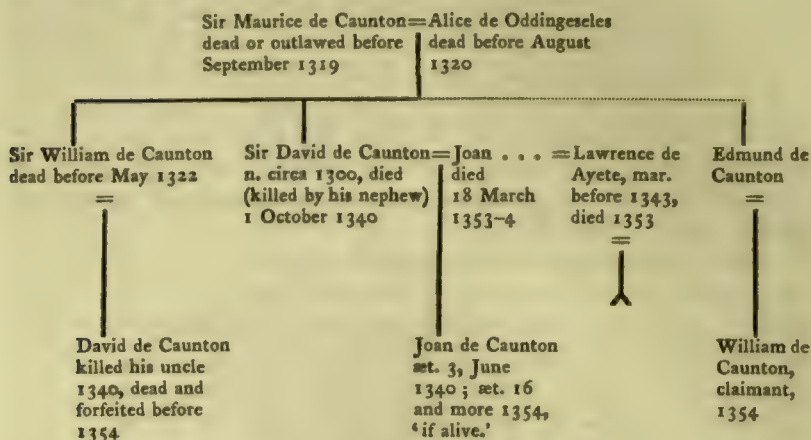
Finally there is a writ, dated 8 August, 28 Edward III. (1354), ordering a transcript to be made and forwarded of the inquisition, taken in Ireland on the death of David de Caunton, knight. The transcript follows. The writ bears date 13 September, 15 Edward III. (1341). The inquisition was taken the Sunday after St. Luke the Evangelist, 15 Edward III. (Sunday, 21 October 1341). David de Caunton held at his death the castle of Balyderawyn, etc. David died the Monday after Michaelmas, 14 Edward III. (Monday, 1 October 1340). Elizabeth, daughter of David, is his daughter and heir, aged three years, on the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist last (24 June 1340).

So, after all, the wicked uncle was slain, presumably in his own castle, by his disinherited nephew ; his wife, we may suppose, was safe at home, or was spared or escaped ; but her little daughter was taken from her, and when she died thirteen years later none in England knew if the child was living or dead.

The death was at any rate assumed on this side. By letters patent dated 15 May, 28 Edward III. (1354), the king, reciting the inquisition upon Joan de Caunton, commits a moiety of the manor of Pirton to the earl of Huntingdon, who thus secured for the Clinton family another fraction of the Oddingeseles inheritance.



The pedigree seems to be as follows:—



Dugdale states that Alice de Oddingeseles remarried with Ralph de Perham, after the death of Sir Maurice de Cauntoun. He also gives references to the following fines, from which it would appear that the principal estate in Solihull was allotted to Ela de Birmingham, upon the division of the Oddingeseles inheritance, and was sold by her representative to the bishop of Ely, mentioned above:—

Hec est finalis concordia facta in curia domini regis apud Westmonasterium a die Pasche in quinque septimanas, anno regni regis Edwardi filii regis Edwardi septimo (May 1314) . . . inter Radulfum de Perham querentem et Elam que fuit uxor Petri de Byrmyngham deforcientem de duabus partibus manerii de Sulyhull cum pertinenciis . . . Habendum et tenendum eidem Radulfo de predicta Ela et heredibus suis tota vita ipsius Radulfi reddendo inde per annum viginti libras sterlingorum . . . pro omni servicio . . . ad predictam Elam et heredes suos pertinente . . . Et post decessum ipsius Radulphi predictae due partes cum pertinenciis integre revertentur ad predictam Elam et heredes suos . . . —*Feet of Fines, Warwick*, file 42, no. 18.

Ela was apparently possessed of two parts of the manor, into three parts divided; the remaining third may have been still in dower to her mother. Her son, lord Louth, at any rate sells the whole:—

Hec est finalis concordia facta in curia domini regis . . . in octabis sancti Johannis Baptiste anno regni regis Edwardi filii regis Edwardi duodecimo (June 1319) . . . inter Johannem de Hothum Eliensem episcopum querentem et Johannem de Bermyngeham comitem de Loueth' deforcientem de manerio de Solihull cum pertinenciis et advocacionem ecclesie ejusdem ville . . . Habendum et tenendum eidem episcopo et heredibus suis . . .

imperpetuum. Et preterea idem comes concessit pro se et heredibus suis quod warrantizabunt . . . Et pro hac recognicione reddicione warrantizatione fine et concordia idem episcopus dedit predicto comiti centum marcas argenti.—*Feet of Fines, Warwick*, file 44, no. 42.

There is, however, an endorsement to the above fine from which it may be inferred that the case, even then, was not wholly free from obscurity:—

Ida que fuit uxor Johannis de Clinton de Maxstok apponit clamium suum.

Robertus de Moiby (*sic*) et Margareta uxor ejus apponunt clamium suum.

That is to say, a caveat is lodged by the two surviving sisters of Ela de Birmingham, the earl's aunts; for there can be little doubt that in Margaret de Morby we have Margaret, formerly the wife of John de Grey of Rotherfield, the youngest of William de Odingeseles' coheirs, and we get an explanation of a difficulty that Dugdale left unsolved.

Whether by any conveyance from the Bishop of Ely, before spoke of, it was that *Rob. de Moreby*, of *Moreby* in *Yorkshire*, had an interest here, I know not, nor what he so had: But in 7 E. 3. I find that the K. granted him a Charter of *free-warren* in all his Demesne Lands here at *Solihull*, as also at *Bonnewick* and *Moreby* in *Yorkshire*.

Nothing in the dates conflicts. Margaret, fourth daughter and coheir of William de Oddingeseles, youngest sister of Ida de Clinton, was born in 1277 (see above); she married John de Grey of Rotherfield, who died 17 October 1311, leaving John de Grey, his son and heir, aged ten on 28 October in that year; in 1319 she occurs as the wife of Robert de Morby, who, as we have just learned, had a grant of free warren in Solihull as late as 1333; her share of the Oddingeseles inheritance appears to have been the manor of Olton in Solihull, and the alternate presentation to the church of Arley, both of which passed to her descendants; it is stated however in the inquisition on the death of her first husband, taken at Coleshull, 13 December 1311, that he held 22 marks of rent in Solihull and the said advowson, of her inheritance; and it is possible that the manor of Olton may have accrued to her later, on her mother's decease, or represent a purchase from the other coheirs.

The history of the manor of Solihull, as Dugdale left it, is confessedly obscure; and if it has subsequently been

made out, I have failed to find the reference. All we know for certain is that William de Oddingeseles died possessed of it, and that John de Hotham, bishop of Ely from 1316 and chancellor of England, who died 25 January 1315-6, in some way acquired it from the Oddingeseles' coheirs. Incidentally we have brought out the fact that one of these coheirs, the youngest, remarried with Robert de Morby, which explains the grant of free warren to this Robert in Solihull, in 1333. Robert had previously obtained a like grant in lands of which his wife was tenant for life; and in the same year his stepson Sir John de Grey, being then just of age, had a similar grant, not only in lands already in his possession, but apparently in some of the lands stated in the previous grant to belong to his mother for her life, and also in Moreby, where his stepfather's estate lay. This in itself is difficult; and it appears, further, by the text of the charter of 1333—cited by Dugdale—that the estate of Moreby was parcelled between three men, Henry, William and Robert de Moreby, to all of whom the like favour is extended, viz., of free warren in Morby, with, in the case of Robert, in Solihull as well. The text of these three grants is as follows:—

Pro Roberto Rex eisdem. Salutem. Sciatis quod cum dilectus et fidelis de Moreby et noster Robertus de Morby et Margareta uxor ejus teneant maneria Margareta de Coges in comitatu Oxonie et de Opton et de Scolcotes in comitatu Eboraci et Weford in comitatu Staffordie cum pertinenciis uxore ejus et Johanne de Grey. ad vitam ipsius Margarete que quidem maneria post mortem predictę Margarete dilecto et fideli nostro Johanni de Grey et heredibus suis remanere debent ut dicitur. Nos eisdem Roberto et Margarete, et Johanni gratiam specialem facere volentes in hac parte concessimus et hac carta nostra confirmavimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris prefatis Roberto et Margarete, quod ipsi ad totam vitam ipsius Margarete et predicto Johanni quod ipse et heredes sui post mortem predictę Margarete imperpetuum habeant liberam warennam in omnibus dominicis terris suis maneriorum predictorum, dum tamen terre ille non sint infra metas foreste nostre, Ita quod nullus intret terras illas ad fugandum in eis vel ad aliquid capiendum, quod ad warennam pertineat sine licencia et voluntate ipsorum Roberti et Margarete dum eadem Margareta vixerit seu predicti Johannis vel heredum suorum post mortem ejusdem Margarete super forisfacturam nostram decem librarum. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod predicti Robertus et Margareta ad totam vitam ipsius Margarete et predictus Johannes et heredes sui post mortem predictę Margarete imperpetuum habeant liberam warennam in omnibus dominicis terris suis predictis. Dum tamen etc. Hiis testibus venerabilibus patribus H. Lincolnensi episcopo, cancellario nostro, S. Londonensi episcopo, Johanne de Eltham comite Cornubie fratre nostro carissimo, Rogero de Mortuo Mari comite Marchie, Olivero de Ingham, Gilberto Talebot,



Johanne Mantravers senescallo hospicii nostri et aliis. Data etc. apud Wodestok xxi. die Aprilis (1330). per breve de privato sigillo.

[*Charter Roll*, 4 *Edward III.* (117) No. 94.]

Rex eisdem. Salutem. Sciatis nos de gratia nostra speciali concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse dilecto et fideli nostro Pro Johanne de Grey de Rotherfeld. Johanni de Grey de Rotherfeld quod ipse et heredes sui imperpetuum habeant liberam warennam in omnibus dominicis terris suis de Shobynton, Estcleydon et Botilecleydon in comitatu Buckinghamie, Cogges, Herdewyk, Stanlak, Feringford et Somerton, in comitatu Oxonie, Wyntreburn in comitatu Berk', Duston in comitatu Norhamptonie et Upton, Stilingflete, Moreby, Drynghous, Sculcotes et Ketelwell in comitatu Eboraci . . . Data per manum nostram apud Clipston primo die Septembris (1330).

per breve de privato sigillo.

[*Ibid.* No. 44.]

Rex eisdem. Salutem. Sciatis nos de gratia nostra speciali concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse dilecto nobis Henrico de Moreby. quod ipse et heredes sui imperpetuum habeant liberam warennam in omnibus dominicis terris suis de Moreby et Elvyngton in comitatu Eboraci . . . Data per manum nostram apud Berewicum super Twedam vicesimo tercio die Julii (1333).

per breve de privato sigillo.

Consimiles cartas de libera warennam habent subscripti videlicet.

Willelmus de Moreby in omnibus dominicis terris suis de de Moreby. Bonnewyk et Moreby in comitatu Eboraci etc. ut supra. Data ut supra, per idem breve.

Robertus de Moreby in omnibus dominicis terris suis de Bonne-de Moreby. wyk et Moreby in comitatu Eboraci et de Solihull in comitatu Warwici, etc., ut supra. Data ut supra per idem breve.

[*Charter Roll*, 7 *Edward III.* (120) Nos. 12, 11 and 10.]

There remains yet another difficulty with regard to Solihull Lord Louth sold to Bishop Hotham in 1319. In 1320 there is a sale, or release, to Hotham, of the same property, namely of the manor and advowson, by Philip Purcel and Ela his wife. Dugdale ventures the supposition that this Ela was the earl's daughter. Apart from the fact that the earl does not appear to have had a daughter of this name at all, the conjecture is not a happy one, seeing that Lord Louth himself survived till 1329. It seems therefore more reasonable to suppose that in Ela wife of Philip Purcel we again meet with the earl's mother. The presentations to the church of Solihull, given by Dugdale are as follows :—

(1) Eustace le Poer and Ela de Oddingeseles his wife. *Sans date.*

(2) Sir John de Grey, 1303.

- (3) The four daughters and co-heirs of John (*sic*) de Oddingeseles, 1310.
- (4) William de Bromwich, procurator of Sir Eustace le Poer, 1310.
- (5) Dame Alice de Caunton, lady of Pyriton, IV. Cal. Nov. 1311; and thereafter the bishop of Ely.

It would thus appear that before 1303 Piers de Bermingham, the earl's father, was dead, and that Ela, his mother, had remarried with Eustace le Poer, who was living in 1310: that Eustace was, however, dead before May 1314, when by the description of 'Ela late the wife of Piers de Bermingham,' she granted two parts of the manor of Solihull to Ralph de Perham for life; that in the interval between 1314 and 1319, Ralph de Perham died, and that she, being again in possession, granted whatever she had in Solihull to the earl her son, who sold it in 1319 to the bishop; and lastly, that in 1320, having by that time remarried with Philip Purcel, as her third husband, she joins with her husband in releasing her right to the bishop. Even the release is not in ordinary course, but is preceded by the following mandate, which may, however, have been occasioned merely by the residence of Philip and Ela in Ireland:—

6 May,  
1320. To the Justices of the Bench. Order to cause a fine to be levied between John, bishop of Ely, demandant, and Philip Purcel and Ela his wife, deforciant, of the manor of Solihull and the advowson of the church of that town according to the acknowledgment made by the deforciant before the king, whereby they acknowledged the said manor and advowson to be the right of the said John, and released the same to him and his heirs quit of the said Philip and Ela, and her heirs, for ever, and warranted the same to him; for the purpose of making which fine Philip and Ela have attorned in their place Alexander Aptot and John de Hales, whom they are to admit in the plea and to receive part of the chirograph in place of Philip and Ela.

The Chancellor of Ireland received the acknowledgment and attornment by the king's writ of precept.

[*Close Roll Calendar.*]

The fine was levied accordingly:—

Hec est finalis concordia facta in curia domini regis apud Westmonasterium in crastino Ascensionis Domini anno regni regis Edwardi filii regis Edwardi terciodecimo . . . inter Johannem Eliensem episcopum querentem, per Johannem de Ponte Fracto positum loco suo per breve domini regis ad lucrandum vel perdendum et Philippum Purcel, et Elam uxorem ejus deforciantes, de manerio de Solihull cum pertinenciis et advocacione ecclesie ejusdem ville . . . scilicet quod predicti Philippus et Ela recognoverunt predictum manerium cum pertinenciis et advocacionem predictam esse jus ipsius episcopi, et illa remiserunt et quietum clamaverunt de ipsis Philippo et Ela et heredibus ipsius Ele predicto episcopo et heredibus suis imperpetuum. Et pretera . . . con-

cesserunt pro se et heredibus ipsius Ele quod ipsi warantizabunt predicto episcopo et heredibus suis predictum manerium cum pertinenciis et advocacionem predictam contra omnes homines imperpetuum. Et pro hac recognitione . . . idem episcopus dedit predictis Philippo et Ele centum libras sterlingorum.

[*Fees of Fines, Warwick*, file 45, No. 19.]

I am not at all sure that the explanation offered is correct ; and it is to be noted that Ela *the wife* of William de Oddingeseles, mother of Ida de Clinton and the other sisters, survived her husband, and that she is not accounted for.

We have thus ascertained the parentage, and the nature of the inheritance of Ida de Oddingeseles, wife of John de Clinton (V.). The manor of Maxstoke, which she brought to him, was not held in chief, nor was he himself a tenant in chief, in respect of his own manors of Amington or Lydiard or of any other lands. Thus it happens that no 'office' or inquisition post mortem was taken upon the death of himself, his widow, for Ida survived him, or of his son and successor ; and we are all the more dependent on such notices as we can find relating to them in the calendars issued under the superintendence of the deputy keeper of the records. I do not propose to inquire into the summons to parliament received by successive members of this family. The distinction, upon principle, between parliaments and councils appears to me to break down. It is for the wisdom of parliament, which still happily exists, in individual cases to decide and for the student of such matters to admire the expediency of its decisions. We are told nowadays that nothing—I allude to disease—is inherited ; but for the life of me I cannot see a very important distinction between the tendency in certain families to be summoned to parliament and a birthright inherent in them to such summons. The barony of Clinton, upon 'Garter's Roll,' must, as we learn from a note in the *Complete Peerage*, be considered by its 'ranking' to originate in a summons to John de Clinton (VI.) son of John de Clinton (V.) and Ida his wife, and this in spite of the fact that John de Clinton (V.) was himself summoned to parliament 6 February 1298-9, which gives us however a date in his career. Other such dates are as follows. On 1 September 1300 'John de Clynton' had a grant of freewarren in his demesne lands of Amington, co. Warwick (*Charter Roll*, 28 Edward I. No. 4). On 6 June 1306 there is a protection for John de Clinton of Maxstoke,



going beyond seas with Robert de Burghersh, constable of Dover Castle (*Pat. Roll Cal.*). On 5 August 1309 there is an order to deliver to John de Clynton the castle and honour of Walyngford, the honour of St. Valery and the town of Chichester (*Close Roll Cal.*). That he was dead before 7 January 1310-1 appears by a remission of payment to the heirs and executors of John de Clynton of 3*l.* 10*s.* 4½*d.*, in which he was indebted to the king for the time in which he was seneschal of Ponthieu; also of 6*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* as steward of Walyngford (*Pat. Roll Cal.*).

During the following ten years there are constant references to Ida, his widow. In September 1311, 'Ida, late the wife of John de Clynton,' is bound jointly with John de Bracebrigge, knight, for the proper debt of the said Ida, to Sir Edmund Deyncourt, in 450 marks, to be levied in default upon her land, etc., in Warwick and Wilts, by which it would appear, incidentally, that Lydiard was settled upon her (*Close Roll Cal.*). On 3 May 1313 and 20 February 1313-4 there are protections for 'Ida late the wife of John de Clynton' going beyond seas with Queen Isabel (*Pat. Roll Cal.*). On 9 September 1313 there is a pardon, at 'Ida de Clynton's' request, touching a disseisin at Solihull (*Close Roll Cal.*). In 1315 there is the 'Notification' printed above that she was the eldest of William de Oddingeseles' daughters, upon what occasion issued I cannot tell. And lastly, on 1 March 1321-2 there is an order to John de Walewayn, escheator this side Trent, to permit 'Ida, late the wife of John de Clynton,' to have the easement of houses in the manor of La Grove, till further order, as the king wishes to show her special favour.

By Ida de Oddingeseles John de Clinton (V.) had issue, John de Clinton (VI.) and William de Clinton, summoned to parliament from 6 September 1330, and created earl of Huntingdon, 13 March 1336-7. There were presumably also daughters, to one of whom I suppose the following entry in the *Calendar of Papal Letters* to refer—

6 June 1336. Mandate to the bishop of Coventry to grant a dispensation to John de Steanuge, knight, and Ida de Clinton to remain in the marriage they have contracted, notwithstanding that the knight had for a concubine, before the said marriage, one who was related to Ida in the third degree of kindred; declaring their offspring legitimate.

John de Clinton (VI.), summoned to parliament as mentioned above, from 27 January 1331-2 to 1 April 1335—I

derive this information from the *Complete Peerage*—was under age at his father's death. The further statement in the *Complete Peerage* that he was aged twelve in 1315, we have shown in the previous volume to be due to a confusion between him and John de Clinton of Coleshill, his second cousin ; but from the inquisition in which this cousin is found heir to his grandfather, also of Coleshill, we gathered that John de Clinton (VI.) was in 1316 in ward to the executors of the late earl of Warwick, and that he had been previously in the custody of that earl himself, who died 10 August 1315. We have also seen above that his parents were certainly married before 1300, to which year we are inclined to assign his birth. As correctly stated in the *Complete Peerage* he married Margery, daughter of Sir William Corbet, of Chaddesley Corbet, co. Worcester, for we find in the *Close Roll Calendar*, under date 24 February 1328-9, an enrolment of grant by William Corbet, knight, lord of Chaddesleye, to Sir John de Clynton, of ' Mastok ' and to Margery his wife and to the heirs of their bodies of 200l. yearly rent from his manor of Chaddesleye. That this Margery was the mother of his heir moreover appears probable, for in the absence of any inquisition taken upon his own death, we have a series of inquisitions taken after the death of his brother, the earl of Huntingdon, in 1354, by which his son John de Clinton (VII.) is found heir to the said earl, his uncle, and is variously stated to be aged twenty-three, twenty-four, twenty-six, and thirty years of age. Of these returns that for Warwickshire is presumably the most reliable, and in this, taken 24 September, 28 Edward III., the nephew is stated to have been aged twenty-six at Easter last, that is to say on 13 April 1354 ; from which we gather that he was born in April 1328, just a year before Margery de Clinton's post-nuptial settlement.

We find (*Pat. Roll Cal.*) the name of ' John de Clynton of Makstok ' in commissions of the peace for Warwickshire, 18 May 1329, 23 March 1331-2, and 20 November 1332. His summons to parliament in 1335 is not absolute proof that he was then living, but we have satisfactory evidence, at any rate, that he was dead in 1343. On 14 May in this year a commission of oyer and terminer was ordered, on the complaint of Margery, late the wife of John de Clynton of Maxstoke, that Sir Richard de Herthull and others of his name had broken her close at Amynton, co. Warwick, felled

her trees and burned and plundered her goods (*Pat. Roll Cal.*).

John de Clinton (VI.) had issue by Margery Corbet a son John de Clinton (VII.), born as suggested above in 1328. I suppose that during a long minority he may have been in ward to his uncle, the earl of Huntingdon. The benefits that he received from this uncle, who died without issue, were immense. High in favour, married to the greatest heiress in England, but childless, William de Clinton, earl of Huntingdon, built up a lordly estate. He held at his death in August 1354 land at Wythyhamme and Hertefeld, co. Sussex, land in Folkston of Nicholas de Sandwich, as of the manor of Folkston, besides a third of the manor of Goldestanton in Esshe, with lands in Esshe and Wyngesham, and the manor of Huntinton, co. Kent, and a moiety of the manor of Pirton, co. Herts, of which we have already heard. In addition to this, he was seised in fee of land in Nether Whitacre and Amynton, held land jointly with his nephew in Kynnesbury, and had the manors of Maxstoke and Shustoke by his nephew's demise, all in co. Warwick. The history of this manor of Shustoke is set out in full in the pages of the *Patent Roll Calendar*. It is concerned with the founding by the earl of a priory in Maxstoke. On 18 May 1343 a series of licences is granted, by virtue of which the earl makes an exchange with John de Moubray of the manor of Hynton, co. Cambridge, for the manor of Shustoke; he then grants Shustoke in free alms to the prior and convent of Maxstoke, who grant it to 'John son of John de Clynton, and his heirs, in exchange for 20*l.* of land in the manor of Maxstoke, which 20*l.*, it appears by a further licence, 21 October 1344, consisted of 'the capital messuage of the manor of Maxstok, in the park there,' etc. Finally there is a licence, 17 June 1346, for 'John son and heir of John de Clynton of Maxstok' to grant the manor of Shustok to the earl, his uncle, for life. The piety is delightful. The earl is enabled to dedicate to religion the very house in which we must presume he first saw the light. He supplied a stately substitute for the use of his heirs. On 12 February 1344-5 there is a licence for William de Clynton, earl of Huntynghdon, to 'crenellate' a dwelling place to be built in Maxstok for the use of John de Clynton, his nephew, and for his nephew to hold the same, thus 'crenellated,' to him and his heirs.

Thanks to Ida de Oddingeseles and to William de Clinton,



her son, the house of Clinton is now fairly launched on its superb career. The endowments are incessantly commuted. Never a family so variously at various times endowed; but whether reigning in the midlands, in Kent, on the east coast, or in the northern parts the heirs male have not lacked means, while the heir of line has somehow always contrived to re-gild the ancient barony.

With the matrimonial alliances of John de Clinton (VII.), Lord Clinton, we return to pure genealogy, not without relief.

EXSUL.

*(To be continued.)*

## HERALDS' COLLEGE AND PRESCRIPTION

## V

I NOW come to the final and most difficult point of this inquiry, the question so deftly evaded by 'X' and Mr. Phillimore, namely, when did the heralds cease to recognize prescriptive rights in armorial bearings?

I have attempted to show that the principle was admitted by practically all the Kings of Arms down to Dugdale's time, thus confirming the statements of his letter of 1668.<sup>1</sup>

I must now call attention to another change in heraldic practice which took place shortly after that time and has an important bearing on the question. In the earlier grants and confirmations we find no suggestion that any warrant of the Earl Marshal was necessary to set the heraldic machinery in motion. The grants, whether by Garter or by one of the Kings of Arms either alone or in conjunction with Garter, are expressed to be made by the authority of the letters patent conferring the office. Thus in 1541 we find Hawley, Clarenceux, granting arms

by the auctorite and power annexed, attributed, given and graunted by the Kyng our Soverayne Lord's Highnes to me and to my office of Clarenceux King of Armes, . . . by expresse wordes under his most noble grete seale.<sup>2</sup>

This form, with slight variations, is almost universal. One of the later ones may be quoted also, a grant in 1663 by Sir Edward Bysshe, Clarenceux, to Silvanus Boycott; 'by the power of my office granted unto me under the great seale of England'; no mention being made of the Earl Marshal or his warrant.<sup>3</sup>

Very rarely indeed down to Dugdale's time is any mention of the Earl Marshal made in a patent of arms, and then always, so far as I can ascertain, *in a new grant*, as opposed to a confirmation. The earliest instance I have found may be given; it is from a new grant made by Gilbert Dethick, Garter, in 1564.

<sup>1</sup> *Ancestor*, ii. 45.      <sup>2</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.*, i. 304.

<sup>3</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* (new ser.), ii. 162.

I . . . by the authoritie and power off my offyce, anexed and graunted unto me under the greate seale of England, and also by the consent of . . . Thomas, Duke of Norfolkke, Erle Marshall . . . have ordayned, assigned, and set furthe, given, graunted, . . . these armes, etc.<sup>1</sup>

The distinction made in this respect between a new grant and a confirmation seems to have arisen out of the notorious quarrels and disputes that convulsed the college in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Among other things, some of the Heralds, especially William Dethick, afterwards Garter, had taken to visiting and giving grants of arms of their own initiative, which they had no right to do except as deputies to one of the Kings of Arms.<sup>2</sup>

It was in consequence of these quarrels, which had become a positive scandal, that the Earl Marshal framed some new orders regulating the respective rights of the disputants. They are very lengthy, but only one is material here.

Orders to be observed and kept by the Officers of Arms, made by the high and mighty Prince, Thos. Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England, 1568, 18 July, 10 year reg. Q. Eliz.

Item, it is also ordered and decreed by the said Earl Marshall that from henceforth there shall be no *new arms* granted to any person or persons without consent thereunto of the Earl Marshal had. Provided always that it shall be lawfull for Garter, Clarenceux and Norroy and every of them jointly together to give new crests and *confirmances*, as heretofore they have done . . . and that no patents of arms be granted unless the hands of the three Kings of Arms be thereto subscribed.<sup>3</sup>

The most important fact in this rule is the Earl Marshal's recognition of the distinction between a grant of new arms on the one hand, and a grant of a crest or a confirmation on the other. The 'confirmances,' as he calls them, can only refer to arms not already recorded at the College, and consequently depending on outside proof of user, that is, on prescription. Nothing could be clearer or more in point: the new grant to the new man required the Earl Marshal's sanction; the allowance or confirmation of arms to one who could prove a right to them, did not.

The latter part of the rule was to a large extent disregarded,

<sup>1</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* (ser. 3), ii. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Noble, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> Additional MS. 6297, fo. 19. The italics are mine. 'X' states that these rules were made by the command of Queen Elizabeth; *The Right to Bear Arms*, p. 99.



for new grants of arms continued to be issued on the authority of Garter or one of the Kings of Arms alone. In the majority of these the Earl Marshal's warrant is not mentioned, and presumably was not obtained.

The earlier Garters do not seem to have interfered with the functions of the Kings of Arms, nor does it appear to have been the intention of the Crown that Garter should do more than superintend the work of the College generally.<sup>1</sup> William Dethick was responsible for the alteration. He 'induced' (in plain English, I suppose, bribed) one of the Clerks of the Signet to insert words in the Signet Bill, giving him powers of making visitations and of granting arms.<sup>2</sup> This was a clear usurpation of the rights of the Kings of Arms, and they resented it very keenly. Many details are given by Noble.

Dethick seems to have been as unscrupulous as he was violent, and was constantly in trouble. In 1595 or 1596, he was hauled before the Star Chamber on a complaint made by the Earl of Kent, Clarenceux King of Arms (Lee) and York Herald (Brookesmouth). It seems that Garter had made 'a testimoniale under the sealle of the Office,' that one Rotherham was entitled to quarter the arms of Grey of Ruthyn, 'falsely, corruptely, contrarye to his owne bookes and to his owne knowledge.'<sup>3</sup> The result does not appear. James I. was advised to get rid of him, and after a great deal of trouble this was done in 1606.

William Segar, his successor, was a weak man and careless. In 1616 he was the cause of a very serious affair. Deceived

<sup>1</sup> That is of course apart from his public duties and those in connection with the Order of the Garter.

<sup>2</sup> Noble, p. 198; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* I append quotations from the patents of Gilbert and William Dethick, the added words in the latter's patent being in italics.

Letters Patent appointing Gilbert Dethyck, Norroy, to the office of Garter; dated April 29, 1550. *Habendum . . . officium illud . . . cum omnibus juribus . . . eidem officio qualitercumque debitis . . . in tam amplis modo et forma prout Christoferus Barker, miles, nuper Gartier, aut aliquis alius . . . habuit usus vel gavisus fuit . . . in eodem officio.* [Patent Roll, 4 Edw. VI., part 2, m. 22.]

Letters Patent appointing William Detheck [*sic*] to the office of Garter; dated April 21, 1586. *Habendum officium illud . . . cum omnibus juribus . . . quibuscumque, necnon visitandi et insignia armorum claris viris concedendi, etc.* [Patent Roll, 28 Eliz., part 1, m. 1.] Memorandum of surrender, December 10, 4 Jac. I.

<sup>3</sup> Hawarde, *Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata*, p. 66; Noble, p. 199.

by the malicious Brookesmouth, York Herald, Segar granted the royal arms of Arragon, with a canton of Brabant, to George Brandon, the public executioner,<sup>1</sup> for which he was promptly imprisoned.

It was probably in consequence of this outrageous proceeding that James I. appointed a fresh commission to execute the office of Earl Marshal. The patent is most instructive, and demands a lengthy quotation.

1618. Commission to Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, Edward, Earl of Worcester, Ludovic, Duke of Lenox, George, Marquess of Buckingham, Charles, Earl of Nottingham, William, Earl of Pembroke, and Thomas, Earl of Arundel. Dated 7 February, 1618.

Whereas the office of Earle Marshall of this our Realme of England remaineth at this presente voyde untill wee shall dispose of the same to some person of honor meete for it ; and there are and wilbe manye accidents of armes and chivalrie belonging to the same office undetermined ; and that amongst other inconveniences of late yeares growne for wante of due regarde had to the actions of our officers att armes, the heraldes & kinges of armes and pursuevantes of armes, wee are informed that divers errors are committed by certaine heraldes now deceased and by some such as doe live, to the dishonor of our nobilitie and chivalrie and to the disgrace of sondrie families of aunciente blood bearing the armes of their auncestors, in assigneing and appointing the aunciente armes, badges and crestes of some of our nobilitie and chivalrie and of other gentlemen of auncient blood, to men that weere and that bee strangers in blood to them and nott heritable thereto ; and likewise, that for gaine or other affection the said heraldes have appointed armes, crestes and badges for some other persons of base birthe or of meane vocacion and qualitie of living, that were meete for persons of good birthe and ligneage to receive honor, either for service in politique governmente or in marciall actions : Which errors and disorders wee, of our Princelie and Royall dignitie (from whence all inferiour honors and dignities ought to be derived and protected), myndeing to refourme, uppon the certaine knowledge of your fidelities, knowledges and zeale that you and everie of you beare to the mayntenance of all states of our nobilitie and chivalrie and of all gentlemen of true blood, in their rightes, titles and degrees, aswell for their armes, crests and badges as for all other prehemynences of right by lawe of armes belonginge unto them and everie of them or to their children, doe by theis presentes authorize you or anye three or more of you, to exercise all accions belonginge to the offyce of the Earle Marshall to all purposes and intentes, untill wee shall committe the same office to some other : And by vertue hereof and by authoritie of theis presentes doe give and graunte to you, or anye three or more of you, as before is expressed, full power from tyme to tyme to call before you all our officers of armes, bothe kynges of armes, heraldes and pursuevantes, and to cause due inquisition to be made of all manner of armes by them of late yeares given to any person withoute good warraunte by the lawe of armes, or usurped and taken by anye person unlawfullie withoute good warraunte ; and uppon due examinacion and triall thereof, to revoke and disanull all such as

<sup>1</sup> Noble, p. 231.

shalbe soe tried, and fownde unlawfullie or unworthilye assigned and given, or usurped by anye person unlawfullie : And further, to consider of such good ordynaunces as have bene made by former Earles Marshallles or Constables of England for the direction of the said heraldes in their severall offices, and for the limittacion of their authoritie, and their orderlie visitacion, and to restore the same to their aunciente usage . . . And generallie . . . to doe and execute all other thinges and actes that of right mighte be donne and executed by the Earle Marshall of England according to the lawe and custome of this Realme, and according to the Lawes Marshall, for which this shalbe your sufficiente warraunte and discharge.<sup>1</sup>

The phrase 'giving arms to such who had no pretensions to them by inheritance,' distinctly recognizes a prescriptive right ; no doubt the Rotherham case was the one aimed at.

About 1619 York and Somerset Heralds complained to the Commissioners of 'the subtle practices of Garter, Norrey, and his sonne.' They alleged

'that notwithstanding all your Lordships' especiall commaundement and his Majestie's pleasure signified, yet do the Kings of Armes . . . continue the giving of armes and creasts without warrant, to men unfitting to receive the same ; and to secure their actions the more, they neither record or make knowen any of their doings in the generall office, as they ought to doe. . . . Also when heere-tofore any visitacions have been made, . . . those who made suche visitacions were bound to bring into the generall office (presentlie after their returnes) their whole collections formerlie taken ; but these (to obscure their proceedings and abuses) doe not performe any those auncient orders and rules, so that divers gent., from whom they have received large rewardes and fees to doe the same, comming after of purpose to see whether record hath beene made thereof accordinglie, and finding nothing to appeare as they expected (as of all their doings there is not so much as one leafe of paper brought into the office for these 30 yeeres), they have with great exclamacions and bitter speeches taxed the said officers with little better than cousenage. . . . Latelie zotie of the best bookes of armes, creasts, visitacions and pedigrees have beene purloyned and stolne out of the office . . . by which meanes the office is become so barren, as those nowe remayning in the office are not able to give satisfaction to gent. as is requisite and as ought to be done . . . And further . . . newe armes given to base men are entred by some of the office in olde bookes, dating them 3 or 4 hundred yeeres past.'<sup>2</sup>

Brooke, I admit, is not a good witness, but in a complaint of this nature to the Commissioners he would not be likely to make any statements that he was not prepared to prove.

I have mentioned these old scandals in no unfriendly spirit to the College ; the present staff are no more responsible for the misdoings of their predecessors than King Edward VII. is

<sup>1</sup> Patent Roll, 15 James I., part 11, m. 12d.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers, Domestic*, James I., vol. iii., No. 137.



for those of the second of that name. But I wish to show that these successive restrictions on the powers of the heralds, and the gradual tightening up of the heraldic machinery, was as much for the protection of the public against the heralds as *vice versa*.

In 1617 there is a document which at first sight seems to be an example of the Earl Marshal's warrant for a confirmation.

Wheras wee are enformed that James Willan, sonne and heire of Leonard Willan, late of Kingston upon Hull in the county of Yorke, Esq., is of sufficiencie to beare armes, and hath such armes as are acknowledged by one of the Heralds of Scotland to be his ancestors', sent him thence, as it is informed, the w<sup>th</sup> soe appearinge to you, Wee doe hereby require yow to ratifie and confirme the same unto him, as in like cases is usuall. And for soe doinge this shalbe yo<sup>r</sup> warrant. Suffolke house, this 25th of Aprill, 1617.

Yo<sup>r</sup> loving freindes,

T. SUFFOLKE, E. WORCESTER.

To our lovinge freinde S<sup>r</sup> Richard St. George, knight, alias Norroy Kinge at Armes.<sup>1</sup>

On 1 May 1617, St. George assigns, ratifies and confirms to James Willan, 'these armes and creast followinge.' The form is that of a new grant, and there is no mention of the Scotch coat.<sup>2</sup>

This grant is not easy to place. The office of Earl Marshal was in commission, and the Earls of Suffolk and Worcester were two of the Commissioners. Possibly the fact that the applicant was a Scotchman may have made some difference, and caused the English heralds to look upon the transaction as an English grant rather than as a confirmation.

St. George, however, fully understood the distinction made in the orders of 1568. Thus in 1617 he recites :—

I . . . having power from his Ma<sup>tie</sup> under the great seale, with the consent of the Earle Marshall of England, to give, grant, ratifie and confirme coates of armes unto men of qualitie meriting the same.<sup>3</sup>

The patent from which the extract is taken is a new grant.

The same distinction is found in the letters patent of Charles I. appointing William Le Neve to the office of Clarenceux in 1635.

<sup>1</sup> Harleian MS. 1470, fos. 1, 10b.

<sup>2</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* (3 ser.), i. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS. 1470, fo. 3.

The operative words are as follows :—

Habendum, . . . et exercendum officium illud . . . cum omnibus juribus . . . quibuscumque . . . pertinentibus ; dantes ulterius . . . eidem Clarenceux auctoritatem, potestatem et licenciam literas patentes armorum claris viris donandi secundum ordinacionem per Comitem Marescallum nuper prescriptam et cum eorum consensu, ac cetera omnia et singula que dicto incumbent officio regis armorum sive in esse dignoscuntur in jure vel ex consuetudine temporibus retroactis faciendi, exercendi et exequendi.<sup>1</sup>

The power of giving ‘ patents of arms to worthy persons ’ clearly refers to new grants, and the Earl Marshal’s ordinances mentioned are probably those of 1568.

With this we may compare the statement of Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herald and a careful antiquary. Writing in 1605 on the duty and office of a king of arms, he says :—

He shall make diligent search, if any bear arms without authority or good right ; and finding such, although they be true blazon, he shall prohibit them. The said king of arms in his province hath full power and authority, by the king’s grant, to give confirmation to all noblemen and gentlemen, ignorant of their arms . . . he hath authority to give arms and crests to persons of ability, deserving well of the prince and commonwealth.<sup>2</sup>

Note the antithesis, authority *or* good right, and the distinction between the confirmations and the new grants to deserving persons, the *claris viris* of the letters patent just quoted.

Edward Bysshe, the Parliamentary Garter, naturally does not refer to the Earl Marshal in his grants during that period ; but even after the Restoration, when he had been reduced to his former office of Clarenceux, he made grants which contain no reference to the Earl Marshal.<sup>3</sup>

Sir Edward Walker had been deprived of the office of Garter in 1646, when Bysshe was appointed by Parliament ; he was restored in 1660. All through his second tenure of the office, 1660 to 1677, the Earl Marshal’s warrant was not required, so far as we may judge from the absence of any mention of it in grants of arms. A large number of his grants exist, and many have been printed ; I have not found one reciting that the warrant had been obtained.

Sir Edward Walker died on 19 February 1677, and Sir

<sup>1</sup> Additional MS. 6297, fo. 157b.

<sup>2</sup> Noble, p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Harleian MSS. 1172, fo. 46 ; 1470, fo. 81.

William Dugdale was appointed to the office of Garter on 26 May following. Despite Mr. Phillimore's sneers, he was the most distinguished antiquary who has ever filled that post. His career in the College runs thus: Blanch Lyon Poursuivant Extraordinary, 1638; Rouge Croix Poursuivant, 1639; Chester Herald, 1644; Norroy King of Arms, 1660; Garter, 1667. Thus when he became head of the College he had already nearly forty years' experience of matters heraldic.

His opinion on the question of prescription appears from his letter in 1668, when Norroy King of Arms. Shortly after this we find him reciting the fact of the Earl Marshal's warrant in a new grant.

1676. Whereas . . . Henry, Earle of Peterborough, Deputy . . . by warrant or order under his hand and the seale of the Earle Marshall's office . . . hath signified unto me his consent for my devising and assigning unto John North . . . such armes and crest as he . . . may lawfully beare . . . Know ye therefore that in pursuance of the said warrant or order and according to the grant of my office under the great Seale of England, whereby I am authorised to devise and grant armes according to the Earle Marshall's orders, and with his consent, etc.<sup>1</sup>

In 1682, five years after his appointment as Garter, Dugdale published his treatise on *The Antient Usage in Bearing of Arms*. The work itself does not throw any further light on the present subject, but the epistle dedicatory to Robert, Earl of Aylesbury, Deputy Earl Marshal, contains the following passage:—

Such have been the extravagant Actings of Paynters and other Mechanicks in this licencious Age, that, to satisfie those who are open handed to them, they have not stuck to depict arms not only for divers younger branches of Families with undue distinctions, if any at all, but to allow them to such as do bear the same appellation, though of no alliance to that stock; the permission whereof hath given such encouragement to those who are guilty of this boldness, that there are not a few who do already begin to prescribe as of right thereto.<sup>2</sup>

The quarrel between the heralds and the 'painter fellows' was of long standing, and indeed has descended to our own day. Dugdale resented as keenly as any of his predecessors the intrusion of the heraldic stationer upon the prerogatives of the College. Is it going too far to suggest that on his initiative the Earl Marshal or his deputy made a more drastic regulation to the effect that a warrant should be obtained for

<sup>1</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* (new ser.), i. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Edition by T. C. Banks, 1811.



'confirmances' as well as for new grants? I have not been able to ascertain that such an order was in fact made, the archives of the College would doubtless show, but this is clear, from this date onwards the Earl Marshal's warrant is recited in all patents, and not confined as before to new grants.

It will be noticed that Dugdale, even when expressing his well-founded indignation against the painters, still admits that it is possible 'to prescribe us of right' to armorial bearings: His wrath is directed solely to this being done by 'such as do bear the same appellation, though of no alliance to that stock.' The phrase is not very happily worded, but the meaning is unmistakeable. There is nothing against prescription *per se*; but no prescription can give a right to the arms of another family. That is his grievance, and the distinction is both sound and sensible. No length of user can sanction what is in the beginning a fraudulent, if unintentional, usurpation of another's property. Here for once *The Book of St. Albans* and *The Right to Bear Arms* are in accord. Dame Julian says 'for that thyng the wich is myne . . . may not be take fro me, ner the prynce may not do hit rightwysly'; 'X' puts it 'the Kings of Arms in England have no power in themselves to grant the lawful arms of one family to another family.'<sup>1</sup> It is much to be regretted that this very proper principle has sometimes been lost sight of by those by whom it should have been held most sacred.

It is difficult to see how the insistence on the Earl Marshal's warrant upon all occasions improved the position of the heralds, unless it may have done so in the matter of fees. The people who were content to deal with the herald painters were not affected by it, and no doubt continued to 'send name and county,' as they are still invited to do to-day. Moreover, it did not at first alter the old practice as to prescription, though it may have made the rules as to the amount of evidence required somewhat more stringent.

The case of John Evershed seems to point in that direction. In 1696 he obtained a confirmation of his arms from Thomas St. George, Garter, and Henry St. George, Clarenceux, which contains the following recital:—

Whereas . . . Henry, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, . . . hath by warrant or order . . . signified unto us that he hath received testimonials that Mr.

<sup>1</sup> p. 49.

John Evershed . . . is of an antient family : and whereas he hath also produced to his Grace an escutcheon of arms, attested under the hand of Sir Edward Bysshe, knt., sometime Clarenceux King of Arms, declaring his arms therein expressed to be the arms of their family, his Grace did thereupon order and appoint us to allow and confirm the same unto the said John Evershed and his posterity in due form.<sup>1</sup>

This carries us a step further. A formal allowance of arms by the proper authority would, one would have thought, have been sufficient to satisfy the most exigent Garter or Earl Marshal. But something was clearly lacking, or why this confirmation ? Can it have been that Bysshe's allowance had not been registered at the College ? It is not so stated, but it is difficult to find any other explanation. Bysshe we know to have been a careless person ; witness the following :—

Sir Edw. Bysshe, Clarenceux King of Armes, was at the Crowne Inn near Carfax in Oxon, in order to visit part of the County of Oxon. . . . Few gentlemen appeared, because at that time there was a horse-race at Brackley. Such that came to him, he entred if they pleased. If they did not enter, he was indifferent, so the visitation was a trite thing. Many look'd on this matter as a trick to get money.<sup>2</sup>

The infallibility of the College records was clearly in the air, and we can trace the growth of the theory almost from start to finish. The Evershed confirmation of 1696, just quoted, seems merely to imply it ; the following grant by Henry St. George, Garter, in the first year of his office, 1703, goes a little further, and hints at it in set terms.

Whereas Henry Gatchell . . . hath by petition humbly represented unto . . . Charles, Earl of Carlisle, Earl Marshal of England, . . . that he and his ancestors have been possessors and owners of lands of inheritance in the county of Somerset . . . ever since the reign of King Richard III., but for want of due entries in the College of Armes, not being able to make out so just a right to a coat of arms as he ought to do, has made application to his lordship for a grant . . . the said Earl Marshall did by warrant . . . order and appoint us to devyse and assign such armes, etc.<sup>3</sup>

Here then we get the first hint of the idea that the College records are the sole authority for the right to arms. But mark how tentatively the draftsman puts it forward ! Here is no

<sup>1</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* ii. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Dallaway, 316 ; Noble, 272 ; quoting Anthony Wood. The visitation was in 1669. The note is a withering comment on X's statement that the visitations effected a ' clean sweep.'

<sup>3</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* (ser. 3), ii. 101.

rude and blustering assertion that 'arms are good or they are bad as they are recorded or unrecorded.'<sup>1</sup> The writer is more in sorrow than in anger; there is a delicate suggestion that if the College records are incomplete, it is the dead and gone Gatchells who are to blame. They had been horse-racing, or cock-fighting, or something, when they should have been recording their pedigree and arms.

In 1707 there was further trouble with the 'painter fellows,' and a royal proclamation was issued in the Queen's name, signed by the Earl of Bindon, which contains the following recital:—

Whereas the ordering, judging, and determining all matters, concerning arms, crests, supporters, cognizances, pedigrees, devices, and ensigns armorial, the making and prescribing rules, ordinances, and decrees, for the granting, controlling, and regulating thereof, and the putting in execution the laws and ordinances relating thereunto, are, among other powers and authorities, with her Majesty's approbation, invested in me, Henry, Earl of Bindon, Deputy to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal.<sup>2</sup>

By 1711 St. George had strengthened his formula. In that year he granted a patent of arms to Dame Sarah Pritchard, *née* Cook,

which family of Cook the said Lady Pritchard . . . affirms to have borne and used for their armes, Party per pale gules and blew, three golden eagles displayed, and a like eagle for their crest; but for want of due entries of the said family and arms in the Books of the Heralds' College, the right of the Cooks of Kingsthorp to the forementioned arms is become disputable.<sup>3</sup>

This a distinct advance. In 1703, Henry Gatchell was 'not able to make out so just a right to a coat of arms as he ought to do'; in 1711, the right of the Cook family had 'become disputable' for want of due entries at the College. We can see the theory feeling its way, if I may be allowed the expression, though as yet it still falls far short of X's vigorous pronouncements.

Henry St. George does not appear to have pushed the infallibility theory any further. He was an old man of seventy-eight when appointed Garter in 1703, and at that age his reforming fires must have been burning low. Noble says of him: 'He does not appear to have been much skilled in the

<sup>1</sup> *The Right to Bear Arms*, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Noble, p. 329.

<sup>3</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* (new ser.), i. 349.



profession of arms, or to have personally done much in the science.'<sup>1</sup> His successor, John Anstis, describes him in more caustic terms, as 'a timorous animal, governed by every creature, minding only his iron chest and the contents of it.'<sup>2</sup>

St. George died in 1715, in his ninety-first year.

Sir John Vanbrugh was nominated to succeed him. In the following year, 1716, before his patent was made out, he exemplified arms to Sir Matthew Decker on the strength of a prescriptive title.

Whereas Sir Matthew Decker, hath represented unto . . . Henry, Earl of Suffolk and Bindon, . . . Deputy . . . Earl Marshal, . . . that his father . . . and other his ancestors, who were natives of Flanders . . . having borne and used the arms and crest depicted in the margin of this letter . . . as the arms belonging to their name and family; which arms the same Sir Mathew Decker alledgeth that he some yeares since bro't over with him into England, and hath used the same without any interruption; yet in regard that himself and family are now settled in this kingdom . . . he was desirous that the aforesaid arms and crest, as borne by his ancestors, might (with his lordship's permission) be assigned and confirmed unto him and his descendants in the usual form practiced in England. . . . And whereas the said Earl . . . did by warrant . . . order and appoint us to assign and confirm unto the said Sir Mathew Decker and his descendants the aforesaid arms and crest, *unless we should see cause to make any alteration or difference in the same, etc.*<sup>3</sup>

Vanbrugh did not 'see cause to make any alteration,' and the arms were 'assigned and confirmed' as claimed, on the strength of user alone.

Vanbrugh never got his patent as Garter. He was ousted by John Anstis the elder, who may perhaps be best described by the modern slang expression, 'hustler.' A learned man he undoubtedly was, and his industry is unquestionable.

In 1714, more than a year before St. George's death, Anstis obtained a patent of the reversion of the office of Garter,<sup>4</sup> but he was unfortunately in prison on a suspicion of Jacobitism when the office actually fell vacant, and in the meantime Vanbrugh had been nominated.<sup>5</sup> Anstis, however, succeeded in getting his claim allowed in 1718, and he subsequently obtained a grant of the reversion in favour of his son.

<sup>1</sup> *History of the College of Arms*, p. 353.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 354.

<sup>3</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* (ser. 2), iv. 289; Vanbrugh describes himself as 'nominated Garter.' The italics are mine.

<sup>4</sup> He had apparently been angling for it as early as March 1712.

<sup>5</sup> Vanbrugh, it may be remarked, obtained a confirmation of arms in 1714 on the strength of user by his grandfather (Noble, 355).

Anstis soon began to improve upon St. George's forms, and of course always in the direction of infallibility. Thus, in 1723, we get the following :—

William Heysham . . . hath represented unto . . . Henry, Earl of Berkshire, Deputy . . . Earl Marshal . . . that his ancestors having for many generations lived in the credit and reputation of gentlemen, did bear a coat of arms as of right belonging to their name and family ; but being unable, for want of due entrys of their several descents in the College of Arms, strictly to justify their right to the same, and desiring an indisputable authority for using thereof, hath therefore pray'd his Lordship's warrant, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Again mark the subtle advance. In 1711, the right of the Cook family had ' become disputable ' for want of due entries at the College ; in 1723, Mr. Heysham for the same reason is ' unable strictly to justify ' his right to arms.

In 1732, Anstis made a vigorous but futile attempt to revive the Court of Chivalry, when three persons were proceeded against for the alleged improper use of arms. The results do not appear, but Noble says that ' this whole business was imprudently begun, and unskilfully conducted. The lawyers who were consulted laughed at it.'

Dr. Andrews<sup>2</sup> spoke mighty well on this occasion, saying that Mr. Ladbrook's executors could not be to blame, for they only gave the same arms at the funeral as they found in Mr. Ladbrook's custody, and which he always bore in his life time unmolested ; and that as visitations had been discontinued so long, there was no certainty in arms ; and that several persons who had a right, might in length of time have lost their grants,<sup>3</sup> or not regarded them, but yet if they were so lost, that loss might be repaired for money, etc. ; and took notice that arms were granted not long since to a coffee-man on his paying for them. Mr. Ladbrook's son produced a ' brass plate from his grandfather's grave-stone, upon which was the arms that the son had borne.'<sup>4</sup>

In 1733 we find another variation :—

Whereas Robert Bostock of Orford in the County of Kent . . . hath represented . . . that his grandfather came out of Cheshire about the year 1630 . . . that for want of due entries in the office of arms [he] is unable to prove his descent from the antient family of Bostock of Bostock in Cheshire . . . hath prayed his Lordship's warrant for our granting, allowing, ratifying and con-

<sup>1</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* (new ser.), iv. 375.

<sup>2</sup> He appeared for one of the accused persons.

<sup>3</sup> This is the only reference to a lost grant that I have found in the course of a somewhat lengthy search. I am afraid it does not strengthen Mr. Phillimore's argument very materially.

<sup>4</sup> Noble, p. 373.

firming the same arms and crest borne by the said family, with such alteration as may be necessary to distinguish him and his posterity from all others of the same name and lineage.<sup>1</sup>

This case seems to sail perilously near Dugdale's phrase 'such as do bear the same appellation, though of no alliance to that stock,' but we may take it that Mr. Bostock produced sufficient evidence to prove a *prima facie* descent from the Bostocks of Bostock, though unable 'for want of due entries in the Office of Arms' to show the exact links.

By 1738 there was an emphatic alteration, and we get the following:—

Whereas William Leeves . . . hath represented . . . that his ancestors were formerly seated at Wimbourn in the county of Dorset, and that he hath in his custody several of their ancient deeds, and among others a settlement bearing date in the year 1417, whereto four persons of his surname have severally set their seals, which are impressed with a fess dancette between three garbs, but the colours are not there to be discovered, however, his ancestors have borne them thus blazoned, viz. : gules a fess dancette between three garbs or, and that the same arms are engraven upon several tomb stones now remaining in the Church of Wimbourn aforesaid. . . . That as no entries can be found in the College of Arms, of their descent or of the arms thus used by his ancestors, the said William Leeves hath therefore prayed his Lordship's warrant for our granting and confirming unto him and his descendants . . . the same arms as borne by his ancestors, with some small addition, and a suitable crest thereto.<sup>2</sup>

The 'small addition' granted was the substitution of 'erminois' for gold in the fess, a substitution which daubed a coat, presumably ancient, with a brush dipped in the coach-painter's pot.

Here at last we have it, at a date so near our own that two long lives will bridge the gap. In all its effrontery we have the new doctrine: 'as no entry can be found in the College,' therefore a new grant is necessary. Anstis has put the crowning touch upon St. George's usurpation of power, and thus created a precedent for the subsequent practice of the College.

Apart from everything else, I have no hesitation in describing this recital as a gross impertinence. Compare the facts in this case with several of the quotations I gave in a late number of the *Ancestor*.<sup>3</sup> Can there be the slightest doubt that Dugdale or any of the earlier heralds would have exemplified these arms without any hesitation?

<sup>1</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* (new ser.), iv. 92.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* (ser. 2), i. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancestor*, viii. 139, 140, 141



The deed cited, and doubtless put in evidence, is only two years short of Agincourt, and we may reasonably assume that Mr. Leeves was one of the 'precious few' (to use 'X's elegant term) who could prove a user from that date. But to gratify the avarice or lust of authority of an Anstis, he is dragged down to the level of Dr. Andrewes's coffee-man. I repeat, it was a gross impertinence.

In 1737 the College petitioned for a new charter. I have not been able to find a copy of the petition, and Noble merely mentions the fact, without giving any details. It is difficult to conceive what necessity there could be for a new charter, unless it was to confer greater powers on the heralds. It is curious that the petition should follow so closely after the failure to resuscitate the Earl Marshal's Court. The petition was not granted.

One more quotation will show how the formula crystallized. Thus, in 1739, the elder Anstis recites that

John Mason . . . hath represented . . . that his ancestors having borne for their arms, upon plates and seals, a lyon rampant with two heads . . . but finding no memorial of his descent is unable to justify such a right to the same as the strict laws of arms require.<sup>1</sup>

In 1746, John Anstis the younger, who had succeeded his father as Garter in 1745, gave a patent of exemplification on the strength of user.

Whereas Samuel Dicker . . . on behalf of his father Phillip Dicker . . . hath represented unto . . . Thomas, Earl of Effingham, Deputy . . . Earl Marshal . . . that his ancestors being descended from a family of the same name in Saxony, who have for many ages borne and used the coat of arms following . . . ; but by reason of the great distance of time, is unable to make the due proofs required; *and upon search made in the records of the College of Arms, does not find them borne by any other family*; hath therefore prayed his Lordship's warrant for our granting and confirming the same arms and crest . . . And forasmuch as his Lordship . . . did by warrant . . . order and direct us to grant and confirm unto the said Philip Dicker such arms and crest as he and his descendants may lawfully bear, etc. The arms and crest are granted without alteration.<sup>2</sup>

This is the latest case I have found in which prescription was recognized; sixty years after 'X' tells us that it was 'utterly useless to put forward any prescriptive right to arms whatsoever.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* (ser. 2), i. 295.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* (ser. 2), iv. 290. The italics are mine.

<sup>3</sup> *The Right to Bear Arms*, p. 139.

## VI

We are now in a position to apply the result of this evidence to the statements of 'X' and Mr. Phillimore, and thus to test the soundness of their conclusions.

Let us first see what they say.

Since the Visitations it has been absolutely impossible in England to obtain, and utterly useless to put forward, any prescriptive right to arms whatsoever. Arms are good or they are bad as they are recorded or unrecorded.<sup>1</sup>

If a man did not embrace the opportunity [i.e. the visitation], the arms he used remained as they were before—that is, bogus, not merely unrecorded. The arms were illegal; the opportunity of making them legal was ignored, therefore the fault lay with the individual himself, not with the Heralds. The descendants of such people must blame their ancestors for being so foolish as to let the opportunity pass.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Phillimore, like the Second Spirit in the *Ancient Mariner*, hath ever 'a softer voice.' He tells us that

mere voluntary assumptions, whether by the applicant or his ancestors, are entirely disregarded, and the ultimate and only test is whether the arms rest on a grant or ancient allowance by the heralds at some visitation.<sup>3</sup>

The fundamental error in both authors seems to me to be this: each assumes that the heralds could record pedigrees and allow arms *only at a visitation*. In each case the language is clear and unmistakeable: 'since the visitation' says 'X,' an 'allowance . . . at some visitation' says Mr. Phillimore. It is amazing to find two champions of the College thus limiting the powers of the heralds. And the point is vital to their argument. If arms could be exemplified and pedigrees recorded other than at visitations, there is no reason why the discontinuance of visitations should affect the heraldic practice; there is no reason why 'since the visitations' it should be 'useless,' etc.; there is no reason why the allowance should be 'at some visitation.'

It is so notorious that all these things were done out of visitation time, that it cannot be necessary to cite authorities to that effect. A large number of the documents already quoted in this article were not made at visitations, and I have shown that exemplifications continued after the visitations had ceased. The powers of the Kings of Arms are granted by their patents

<sup>1</sup> *The Right to Bear Arms*, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> *Heralds' College and Coats of Arms*, p. 6.

of creation, the patent authorizing the visitation merely enlarged them for certain specified purposes. Thus the visiting King of Arms or his deputy had authority to summon individuals before him, to demand proofs, to enter castles and houses, to regulate costume under the various sumptuary laws, to use force if necessary, and to summon offenders before the Earl Marshal; all of which, except perhaps the last, were in addition to his ordinary powers as contained in his patent of creation. While conducting his visitation he granted or exemplified arms by virtue of his authority as a King of Arms, not of his visitation commission; and, once the visitation was concluded, the extraordinary and ancillary powers given to him *ad hoc*, ceased and determined.

No doubt a large number of exemplifications were made at the visitations, but this was a matter partly of compulsion, partly of convenience. The Herald in Eyre brought heraldic justice to the door of the country gentleman, who, willingly or unwillingly, gratefully or otherwise, accepted his sovereign's consideration that 'the nobilitye and gentry of this our realme may be preserved in every degree as apperteyneth as well in honour as in worshippe,'<sup>1</sup> and saved himself the trouble and expense of a journey to London.

The discontinuance of the visitations, though it may be 'the saddest thing one can find to chronicle in the history of British armory,'<sup>2</sup> has nothing whatever to do with the prescriptive right to arms. That right was fully recognized by the heralds long before the visitations began and long after they ceased.

The question next arises what authority if any had St. George and Anstis for altering 'the long practice of centuries'? That the 'very ancient and long usage' beloved of Mr. Phillimore was capable of alteration we may admit, but how or by whom? An Act of Parliament could doubtless have done it; and so probably could a new charter, if Anstis had succeeded in getting one in 1737. The Earl Marshal's powers may perhaps extend so far, though I am inclined to think they do not. It is not necessary, however, to go into this, because it seems clear that the Earl Marshal did not make any orders on the subject. If he had done so, we should expect to find some

<sup>1</sup> Commission to Richard St. George, Clarenceux, to visit the east, west, and south parts (Patent Roll, 9 Charles I.).

<sup>2</sup> *The Right to Bear Arms*, p. 108.



reference to them in Noble's work, and they would have been quoted by 'X' as authority for his assertions. Moreover, the very gradual growth of the infallibility theory, which I have pointed out, the insidious steps by which it finally reached its ultimate form, preclude the idea of its being the act of the Earl Marshal. There would have been no necessity in that case for the cautious language used in the grants I have quoted. The Earl Marshal would have issued his fiat in set terms, both for the instruction of the public and the direction of the heralds.

But if there were no Act of Parliament, no charter, no orders of the Earl Marshal, the change must have been made by St. George and Anstis themselves, and of their own authority; and this was most emphatically *ultra vires*. Garter's patent gives him no power to make any alteration in the *law* of arms, and to this we may attribute the care and caution so markedly displayed by the draftsman.

A precedent had been set, however, and successive Garters have felt bound to follow it. The position was and is, I admit, a difficult one. It is almost as hard a task to upset an established precedent as it is to overtake a lie with a good start. And the demonstration that the lie is a lie and the precedent *ultra vires* does not necessarily diminish the difficulty.

W. PALEY BAILDON.

AN ANCIENT SCOTTISH SETTLEMENT  
IN HESSE

THERE is a little town in a corner of one of the Rhine duchies which has a special interest for the wanderer from the British Isles. The place bears the suggestive name of Schotten (Schotte is the German for a Scotsman) and it lies in an out-of-the-way district of the pleasant land of Hesse. A branch line of railway, which has its starting point at Nidda, one of the stations on the line from Frankfort to the University town of Giessen, connects Schotten with the outer world. But the tourist heeds it not, and passes by along the well-worn way.

As the traveller steams away from Frankfort he leaves behind him the Germany of to-day—Germany, the ‘world-power,’ strenuous and progressive—and is borne away to an older Germany, the Germany of legend and romance, where the spirit of feudalism yet lingers; to the land of quaint old towns and villages, of enchanted forests and pinnacled castles perched upon the hill tops, relics of the days when the robber-knight preyed on the treasure that flowed from the East into the rich cities of Almayne.

From Nidda a single line winds slowly up to the foot of the Vogelsberg hills. The railway is laid through the very midst of a succession of picturesque villages, a bell clanging incessantly to warn the inhabitants of the leisurely approach of the train, which passes so close to their homes that one might think it possible to stretch out a hand, as the train crawls by, and touch the timbered walls of the houses. At last Schotten is reached—a little town of a few hundred inhabitants, encircled by the wooded hills.

There can be no certainty about its early history. ‘Zu den Schotten’ (at the Scots’) is the earliest form of the name, and there is no doubt that it points to the settlement here of a colony of Scoti, who crossed the sea and made a laborious pilgrimage to this spot, far inland, where they built a village and church.

## SCOTTISH SETTLEMENT IN HESSE 71

In the absence of any proof to the contrary, there is no reason why the traditional story should not be accepted, which tells that in the year 1015 two Scottish princesses began to build a church and village, coming hither, no doubt, with pious intent to found a religious house among a people who at that time had not yet found the light.

The church of Schotten is a large and handsome fourteenth century structure. Above the west door there is some curious mediæval sculpture representing a knight on horseback. Within the church are shown the gilded busts of the two ladies whose piety raised the earlier building. Both have long, flowing locks; one has her hair encircled by a wreath, the other wears a crown. Archæologists are agreed that these effigies are probably of eleventh century workmanship.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, not many years ago an ancient document was discovered in the ball of the church tower. Since it speaks of Schotten as already a 'civitas,' it is held that it was not written earlier than the fourteenth century, so that it merely represents what was the traditional belief at that time with regard to the foundation of the church. It is interesting, however, because it repeats what has already been the legendary account of the people of Schotten.

It runs as follows: 'Anno milesimo decimo quinto post nativitatem Dom. nostri J. Christi sup. imperio regis dicti claudi civitatem hanc et templum nostrum Schottense primum aedificare cœperunt duæ sorores ex Scotia oriundæ, una Rosamunda, altera Dicmudis vocata'—that is to say: 'In the year 1015 in the reign of the king nicknamed the lame (Henry II, Emperor 1002–1024) two sisters from Scotland, one named Rosamunde, the other Dicmudis, began to build this town and our first church at Schotten.'

In the annals of the nunnery of Wetter, not very far away, the names of two Scottish ladies appear at the same date. At Wetter they are called Dicmudis and Almudis. Whether Almudis was a third sister, or there was some confusion about the names, can only be conjectured.

This part of Germany had, for many years before this date, a connexion with the British Isles, for there were already nine 'Schottenkirchen' in Mayence and in Upper Hesse, all

<sup>1</sup> We venture to dissociate ourselves from the archæologists who assign these figures to so early a date.—Ed.



dependent on Strassburg, where Florens, a Scoto-Irish hermit, had been elected bishop in 679 A.D. It seems quite natural that the Scottish sisters should settle at a place where their countrymen were already known.

We have spoken of the settlers at Schotten as 'Scottish,' but it is impossible to decide whether these Scoti came from the country which is now called Scotland, or whether they came from Ireland, whence the Scots originally migrated to Caledonia.

So generally it was recognized that the inhabitants of Ireland and the West Highlands of Scotland were of the same race that it was not until the twelfth century that the word 'Scotus' was used to denote exclusively a Scotchman in the modern sense. For instance, the celebrated 'Schottenkloster' at Ratisbon, which was in the hands of Scotsmen till the eighteenth century, was founded in the eleventh century by Marianus Scotus, who was in reality an Irishman.

It has been suggested that the princesses 'ex Scotia' who built the church at Schotten may have been two daughters of Brian Boru, the King of Munster, who was defeated and deposed at the battle of Clontarf in 1014. Beyond the fact that the date fits in with that of the arrival of the princesses in Hesse, there seems little ground for this supposition.

There is at least one German family which claims descent from the followers of these Scottish ladies. In the family MSS. of the Schotts of Braunfels (begun in 1587) this claim is set forth, and although it will not bear historical investigation it is not inherently improbable. The tradition need not summarily be rejected that the first recorded member of the family migrated from Schotten to the Nassau country in the twelfth century, and granting this, it is quite probable that most of the inhabitants of the Scottish village at that date were descended from the original settlers of the previous century.

S. H. SCOTT.

## THE TRAFFORD LEGEND

I HAVE read with considerable surprise, indeed with blank amazement, Mr. Bird's article on this subject. In order that I may run no risk of misrepresenting in any way his reply to my criticism of the Trafford legend, I will quote his own words. After setting forth the pedigree from 'King Kanutus his tyme,' he proceeds :—

It is a more serious matter when Mr. Round comes forward to denounce our pedigree as a 'grotesquely impossible tale,' and declare that 'it is shattered by Domesday Book.'<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Bird then prints abstracts of seven charters, and observes :—

In the light of this evidence I do not think the most impatient critic will any longer deny the existence of the impossible Randolph, or refuse assent to the following pedigree.<sup>2</sup>

This pedigree makes the Henry de Trafford who fined for his relief in 1205 the great grandson of a 'Randolph,' of whom Mr. Bird submits

that we shall not be far wrong if we set down the impossible Randolph as a real person, probably a contemporary of the Conqueror, born somewhere in the latter half of the eleventh century.<sup>3</sup>

The article closes with a plea that we should 'try and be fair even to an old-fashioned maker of pedigrees on vellum.'

Now it is an old and a very familiar device in all controversy to abstain from citing your opponent's case and then to claim to prove what he has never denied. In the present instance I need only cite what I have actually written (in the passages referred to by Mr. Bird) to show that what I denounced was not Mr. Bird's pedigree, but, to quote his own

<sup>1</sup> *Ancestor*, ix. 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 71.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 74. Genealogists should be careful to avoid this loose and misleading use of the word 'contemporary.' I was, in this sense, contemporary with Queen Victoria, but I was not even born till she had been many years on the throne.

phrase, 'the Trafford legend,' the pedigree from 'King Kanutus his tyme.'

The two passages are these :—

The *World* (17 Oct. 1900), in an article on 'Sir Humphrey de Trafford at Home,' asserts that 'Randolph, Lord of Trafford, was the patriarch of the family, which for nearly nine centuries after him has produced an uninterrupted line of heirs male. The first recorded Trafford lived in the reigns of King Canute and Edward the Confessor, being succeeded by his son Ralph,' etc. This grotesquely impossible tale is duly found in *Burke's Peerage*, although it is shattered by *Domesday Book*.<sup>1</sup>

Wilder, however, than the claims to descent from Norman invaders are those of the families who would 'go one better' by asserting an earlier origin . . . As for 'Randolphus de Trafford,' who lived *ante conquestum*, 'as the family pedigree sets forth,' we may leave him to the company of an impossible, etc., etc. . . . An equally impossible 'Hugh Fitz Baldric, a Saxon thane,' was a Norman tenant-in-chief.<sup>2</sup>

It will be obvious to all who read these words that what I denounce as 'grotesquely impossible' is the existence of a 'Randolf, lord of Trafford,' who 'lived in the reigns of King Canute and Edward the Confessor,' and was succeeded by his son 'Ralph.' In the very same number of the *Ancestor* as that which contains Mr. Bird's article several paragraphs of 'What is believed'<sup>3</sup> are, devoted, as it happens, to other families which similarly claim 'fore-conquest ancestors.' Of these ancestors one is 'William Stanley of Stanley,' living 'fifty years before the battle of Hastings,' who is justly described as 'a pretended Englishman with the very French name of William' (p. 158). No less worthy of 'What is believed,' is that pretended Englishman with the very French name of Renouf (*Ranulphus*), who is said to have been lord of Trafford 'in the reign of King Canute,' 'nearly nine centuries' ago, and to have given his son the no less distinctively foreign name of Ralph.<sup>4</sup>

*Domesday Book* shows us 'Ranulfus' as a name that was common *after* the Conquest, and was (as we should expect) unknown before it. Mr. Bird pleads, quite justly, in favour of Randle Holme, that 'for him were no public libraries, no books of reference; the public records were hardly accessible.'

<sup>1</sup> *Peerage Studies*, p. x.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 64-6.

<sup>3</sup> These, I need hardly add, are not from my own pen.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Ancestor*, v. 144, 146-7.



And he urges that we should 'keep strong language in reserve for offenders of a different class.' But it will have been observed that I do not even mention Randle Holme in the passages above. My complaint is against those responsible for the issue of *Burke's Peerage*, precisely as was Mr. Freeman's.<sup>1</sup> The excuses that could be made for Randle Holme cannot be made for them; nor can they even plead that they do but repeat legends as such. As Mr. Freeman complained before me, its information is put forward as "authoritative" on the ground of its 'testing of all facts by research and investigation.'<sup>2</sup> Yet even now, in this year of grace 1904, the Trafford legend is thus set forth in that impenitent publication :—

RANDOLPHUS DE TRAFFORD, who flourished *ante conquestum*, as the family pedigree sets forth, was father of

RANDOLPHUS, of whom mention is made in two deeds to 'Radulphus (*sic*) filius Radulphi (*sic*)' by which it appears that Radulphus (*sic*) the father, 'was then dead, and had flourished in King Canute the Dane his time, about the year 1030 and perhaps died after, in St. Edward the Confessor his time, about the year 1050; hee had noe surname, as then few of our Saxon nobilitie or gentry had.' From this Radulphus sprang the great house of Trafford, which has since uninterruptedly held a most distinguished place among the first families of Lancashire. His son

ROBERT FILIUS RADULPHI was of full age at the time of the Conquest, and about A.D. 1080 he, with his father, received the king's peace and protection from Hugh de Massy, Baron of Dunham Massy; his son

HENRICUS FILIUS ROBERTI, *temp.* Henry I., d. about 1130, leaving a son HENRY DE TRAFFORD, etc., etc.

This is 'the Trafford legend' as preserved by Randle Holme,<sup>3</sup> but here given, it will be observed, without mention of his name, and not as legend but as fact.

It is because we have here three generations of pretended English thanes, successively receiving before the Conquest distinctively foreign names, that I must denounce this legend as 'grotesquely impossible,' and everyone familiar with the period will know that I am right. Does even Mr. Bird venture to deny it, though he vaguely hankers after a pre-Conquest pedigree for the family? He does not and dares not do so.

<sup>1</sup> See his 'Pedigrees and Pedigree-makers' in *Contemporary Review*, xxx. 11-41.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ancestor*, i. 190, and compare *Peerage Studies*, pp. 52-3.

<sup>3</sup> See *Ancestor*, ix. 67.

As to using 'strong language,' it is evident that, as Mr. Freeman found, not merely 'strong,' but ferocious language is needed to produce any impression on a work such as *Burke's Peerage*. I cited Trafford in my *Peerage Studies*, as an instance of how newspapers were induced to repeat these fables by 'the sanction they appeared to receive from their quasi official and persistent repetition in the pages of *Burke's Peerage* and of other 'Burke' publications.<sup>1</sup> Even the excuse of ignorance, therefore, will not here avail. When the reader is assured, as this very year, in the usual preface, that

The narrative pedigrees in *Burke's Peerage* are subjected annually to searching revision, and . . . made to keep pace with the onward march of events and the latest results of genealogical research and discovery [!]

it would not be pleasant, or even possible, to say what one thinks of that assurance in the light of the Trafford legend. I will only ask my readers—Is it true?

When one turns from the distinctive glory claimed for the house of Trafford, a proved pedigree from the days of Canute, to Mr. Bird's claim that they descend from a 'Ranulphus' (as he spells it) 'born somewhere in the latter half of the eleventh century,' the incredibility disappears—but the distinctive glory also. There is obviously nothing 'impossible,' still less 'grotesquely impossible' in the existence of such a man at a time when, as Domesday shows, his name was common enough. Only—and this is the essential point so strangely ignored by Mr. Bird—he *cannot have been an Englishman born before the Conquest*.

The pedigree propounded by Mr. Bird deserves to be examined on its merits, and for my part I have no wish to question it. The date at which his 'Ranulphus' lived cannot, of course, be exactly given; but as he was the great-grandfather of Henry, who succeeded to Trafford in 1205, he must almost certainly have been born after the coming of the Conqueror (1066). Mr. Bird, I gather, admits this and suggests that he was born about 1095 if we allow twenty-five years to a generation, or 1075 if we allow thirty. But he thinks it impossible to say whether there were not two Henrys in succession (as in the above pedigree derived by 'Burke' from Randle Holme), in which case these dates would be

<sup>1</sup> pp. ix.-x.

thrown back to 1070 and 1045 respectively (p. 74). Now any date earlier than 1066 would, as I have shown above, settle the point decisively as against Mr. Bird by establishing the foreign birth of 'Ranulphus.' But what ground is there for supposing that there were *two* Henrys? Mr. Bird can only produce evidence for one, and his sole ground for suggesting two is that 'Randle Holme supposed there were' (p. 74). It is evident that he cannot emancipate himself from that 'legend' which his own evidence proves to be false. For the Randle Holme-Burke pedigree makes even the second Henry succeed as early as 1130, while Mr. Bird's Henry does not succeed to Trafford till 1205!

We have here, in fact, but another example of that process which I have described as trying to put the new wine of scientific genealogy into the old bottles. However carefully the process is conducted, the bottles are bound to burst. In this case the pedigree begins with 'Ranulphus' both in the old and in the new version; but while, according to Mr. Bird's dates, 'Ranulphus' must have spent under Henry I. his manhood, if not his boyhood, Randle Holme transports him to the days of 'King Canute.' The natural result of this absurdity was that, as Mr. Bird admits, 'subsequent generations, no doubt, had to be spread out rather in order to make all shipshape' (p. 72). This spreading out was partly accomplished by making one Henry into two, but even then the gap yawned.

Perhaps Mr. Bird's reverence for 'tradition' may lead him to think that, after all, an authority so venerable as Weever did not lightly repeat the legend that 'Jernihingho now Jennings' was among those 'of the moste esteeme with Canute,' who 'at a parliament held at Oxford' gave him 'certain mannors lying upon the seaside near Harwich in return for services done to his father Swenus.' A recent paragraph in an evening paper on the name of an ancient family being 'a noted one in England long prior to the Norman Conquest,' is directly traceable to this source. The tale may strike us as hard to swallow; 'but,' as Mr. Bird would say, 'no matter' (p. 72).

It is the same reluctance to shake himself free from that 'grotesquely impossible' ancestor who—as 'equall to our Lord Barons nowe'—may have even been one of Canute's advisers on his attitude towards the tide, that lies at the root,



as it seems to me, of Mr. Bird's wish to instal the Traffords at Trafford before the Conquest. For apart from Randle's nonsense, what proof can he produce? Tradition!

There had formerly been within the Hundred [Salford] twenty-one bere-wicks held by as many thanes. . . . At the next survey, in King John's time, we read of a number of manors still held in thanage (*in thenagio*), a fact which suggests that many or all of them had been left undisturbed. At any rate when one of these tenants in thanage is put forward by tradition (*sic*) as, not merely successor in title, but the lineal descendant of one of King Edward's thanes, I cannot myself see anything in Domesday to shatter his claim. Indeed I should go further, and say that Domesday, so far as it goes, tells in his favour (p. 74).

Now how far back can Mr. Bird carry his 'tradition'? To 'the Elizabethan age' (p. 66) at furthest; definitely only, as it seems to me, to the days of Charles I. ! And yet it is he himself who says of Randle Holme on the Traffords . . . "as is proved by Ancient Tradition," *he weakly adds* (p. 67)! It is also he himself who questions the tradition which makes the Pilkingtons, in the same Hundred, of 'Saxon' origin, and holds that 'instead of being Saxon irreconcilables they were more probably on the side of the invader' (p. 77).<sup>1</sup> He cannot, therefore, complain if I similarly decline to accept a tradition which traces the Traffords to 'one of Edward's thanes' who bore, like his father before him, a wholly impossible name.

There is nothing exceptional in the vague claim to 'traditional' Saxon origin; and I am disposed to make the suggestion that it may have had its origin often in the possession by a family of the manor from which its name was taken. Even since this article was written a paragraph has appeared in the press on the present Earl of Chichester stating that his family, as Pelham of Pelham (Herts), had a 'clear' pedigree to days before the Conquest; it is claimed for the Crofts of Croft Castle (as, for instance, even in Foster's *Baronetage*) that they are of 'Saxon origin'; and the same claim is made for Trelawney of Trelawney, Stourton of Stourton, and, as we have seen, for 'Stanley of Stanley,' Pilkington of Pilkington, and Trafford of Old Trafford. Mr. Bird, it is true, urges that the Lancashire belief in the ex-

<sup>1</sup> This tradition, which is duly ridiculed in the same number of the *Ancestor* (p. 155), is at least as old as the days of Fuller, who speaks, in his *Worthies*, of the Pilkingtons as 'a right ancient family of repute before the Conquest.'

ceptional antiquity of the Traffords must be old because 'a quaint local poet of the Elizabethan age, in *A Golden Mirror*,' supports it in his 'acrostic verses of a complimentary character upon the names of knights and gentlemen of that country,' adding—

Now there were many old families then in Lancashire—Ashtons, Pilkingtons, and Worsleys, Standish, Molyneux, and even Stanley. But it is only when Sir Edmund Trafford's name is the subject of his vision that our poet chooses 'Time for his interlocutor.'<sup>1</sup>

One verifies the reference and discovers, first, that the 'acrostic verses' relate, not to Lancashire, but almost exclusively to Cheshire, and then (not without some surprise) that of the six houses named by Mr. Bird Stanley *alone* is dealt with by the author, and that as Strange,<sup>2</sup> not as Stanley. I venture to submit, therefore, that it is somewhat misleading to put the case as Mr. Bird puts it.

But, it may be urged, there is the 'thanage' argument; is there not something in that? Absolutely nothing whatever. Mr. Bird appears to have confused the holding of land 'in thanage' with descent in blood from a 'thane.' The fact that holdings by thanage are found in the survey, *temp.* John, of Salford Hundred, does not, I assert, 'suggest that many or all "of the English thanes" had been left undisturbed.' At Pendlebury, for instance, a carucate was held 'in thanage' because it had been so granted by John when Count of Mortain;<sup>3</sup> and Little Bolton in Pendleton (opposite Trafford Park) was held by the Boltons 'in thanage' because it had been so granted to William son of Adam by John when Count of Mortain;<sup>4</sup> therefore the holding of land 'in thanage' is no proof that it had not been acquired by a recent grant, though the absence of enrolment in the twelfth century makes it impossible, as a rule, to prove the fact of that grant.

If then 'tradition' and tenure in thanage are alike of no avail to prove that the Traffords held at Trafford before the Conquest, what remains? There remains nothing.

<sup>1</sup> *Ancestor*, ix. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Ferdinando, Lord Strange, who was summoned to Parliament as such 1589–1593. He matriculated as 'Ferdinando Strange,' and was himself a poet.

<sup>3</sup> 'to hold of us and our heirs . . . in free thanage by the free service of ten shillings yearly' (Farrer's *Lancashire Inquests*, p. 69).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 71.

The only clue for our guidance is that of the Christian names borne by their earliest ancestors ; and these, we have seen, are distinctively foreign. This appears to me to afford a very strong presumption that they were not of English origin. Take the case of their neighbour, Roger son of William, who held 'in thanage' Reddish in Manchester ;<sup>1</sup> his ancestor was Orm the son of Ailward 'living in the time of Henry I.,'<sup>2</sup> founder of the Kirkbys of Kirkby Irleth. Or again, take the Singletons of Singleton, descended from Huck of Singleton, whose sons Uchtred and Siward were living under Henry II., and apparently under Richard I.<sup>3</sup> Lastly, take the 'Traffords' neighbour, Gospatric, lord of Chorlton, living in the days of John. One could easily adduce other instances of the retention of native names by men of native origin for some time after the Conquest. Had the Traffords been of English origin, it is most improbable that they would have adopted so early as the eleventh century so foreign a name as Ranulf, in view of the slowness with which such names were adopted in the north of England. The clue, it may be said, is slight ; but it is all the evidence that we have. For, be it observed, there is no proof that the family held Trafford before the time of 'Robertus filius Radulfi de Trafford,' whose son Henry succeeded in 1205. Even if it be claimed that Ralf, Robert's father, held it, this would not carry the tenure further back than the middle of the twelfth century. To this I attach some importance, for it is perfectly possible that, even as the carucate of Pendlebury was granted (we have seen) by Count John to be held 'in free thanage' at ten shillings a year, the half carucate at Old Trafford was granted rather earlier to be similarly held 'in thanage' at five shillings a year, the terms on which we find it held by the Traffords. It is, indeed, perhaps significant that the return of these holdings in 1226<sup>4</sup> records Trafford as the land of Robert son of Ralf, although, on Mr. Bird's showing, it was then held by his grandson. I do not wish to press the point unduly, but on comparing this with the other holdings one is tempted to suggest that Robert son of Ralf is thus entered because he had been the original grantee. }

<sup>1</sup> p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Farrer's *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, pp. 404-6.

<sup>3</sup> See Mr. Farrer's books.

<sup>4</sup> Farrer's *Lancashire Inquests*, p. 138.



With regard to the Trafford crest of the thresher, to which Mr. Bird devotes the latter part of his article, I cannot think that any serious student of such matters will pay much attention to the story that accompanies it or will ask whether 'in this crude legend' we have 'a genuine tradition of the conquest' (p. 75). They will remember Bulstrode riding on his bull to meet the Conqueror and his host, or will bethink them of Botolph, the Stourtons' gigantic ancestor, holding that host at bay. Like Botolph, a nameless 'Traford' held the line of a river and 'kepte the passages against them' till 'the Normans having passed the ryver, came sodenlye upon him.' At this point, as it seems to me, Mr. Bird wholly misses the point of the story; its hero, we read (p. 75), '*disguising himselfe*, went into his barne, and was threshing when they entered, yet, being knowen by some of them and demanded why he *so abased himself*, answered "Now thus!"' Surely this Trafford is here alleged to have caught up a thresher's flail—as the royal Charles might have done when fleeing from Worcester fight—for the purpose of 'disguise,' not of defence. And when Mr. Bird further urges, of the Trafford in real life, that, being surrounded by Norman neighbours, 'never was sturdy thane in more precarious position; good cause had he to keep his back to the wall, his wits about him, and a stout flail handy' (p. 77)—he not only treats the flail as a weapon (against Norman warriors!), but assumes exactly what he has to prove, namely, that Trafford was an English 'thane.'

The Trafford claim, I must repeat, is by no means peculiar to their house. Stourton was of Stourton, as Trafford of Trafford, from early times no doubt; but, not content with this antiquity, Stourton claims to have been 'traditionally a powerful and warrior family in the Saxon period,' and to have had as its 'traditional' ancestor, in the time of King Alfred, 'Botolph de Stourton.'<sup>1</sup> Given the possession of a manor from twelfth century times, there is almost bound to arise a 'traditional' descent either from its Norman grantee at the Conquest, or, as in the case of the Trelawnys, from its 'fore-conquest' possessor.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bird, it is true, carries back

<sup>1</sup> *Peerage Studies*, pp. 55-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 65. And compare Mr. Barron's remarks on the Ogle's patriarch in the same number of the *Ancestor* as Mr. Bird's article (p. 181).

the story connected with the Trafford crest to the days of Agard (1540-1615); but I have carried back to those of Parsons (1546-1610) the story connected with the Stourton crest of 'a monk girt with a girdle, and armed with a scourge,' that it commemorates the fact of 'Sturtonus' being 'among the first converts' at the coming of St. Augustine (597).<sup>1</sup>

Let me now endeavour to sum up the conclusions at which we have arrived.

(1) The pedigree of the Traffords from 'Randolphus de Trafford,' who lived in the days of Canute, which is still published in *Burke's Peerage*, remains 'grotesquely impossible.'

(2) A vague belief that the name of Trafford 'hath been tyme out of mynde, before the conquest was,' is found in a local poem 'of the Elizabethan age.'

(3) The above pedigree from the time of Canute was definitely set forth by Randle Holme in 1638.

(4) It is now admitted that the above Randolphus (or Ranulphus) was not even born till the 'latter half of the eleventh century,' and the claim to a pre-conquest pedigree is abandoned.

(5) The distinctively foreign name of Randolphus (or Ranulphus) creates the strongest presumption that he was not of English birth (and a certainty that he was not, if he was born before the Conquest).

(6) Trafford cannot be proved to have belonged to the family till the time of his grandson, or (at earliest) of his son.

(7) Trafford was probably granted to a man of foreign blood, to be held as before 'in thanage,' not earlier than the middle of the twelfth century.

A tenure of lands in the male line since that date is so exceptional that it places the Traffords of Trafford among the oldest of our landed houses.

J. HORACE ROUND.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 58.

## SEALS AND ARMS

THE very interesting roll of arms of the fifteenth century, which was brought to a conclusion in the last volume of *The Ancestor*, presents a large number of points that seem to invite discussion. May I select one as a beginning, in the hope that my example will be followed by other readers, who must, I feel sure, have examined its quaint tricks and blazons with the same pleasure as myself.

Among the last set of shields is depicted one to which no name is attributed : azure a leaping fox of silver carrying off a goose.<sup>1</sup> This coat arrests the eye as something singular, and not altogether heraldic in character. It stands apart from the familiar lion and leopard, as from the boars' heads, the corbies, and even the belled goats to be seen upon the same page ; for there is a certain element of realism in it, a natural vigour of action, foreign to the conventions of heraldic art.

At every period of English history we find new families rising out of obscurity to wealth and position, as some are rising to-day. When the *novus homo* has to be fitted with coat armour, what shall be devised for him ? One will set up a claim, well or ill founded, to an ancient coat. Another would accept arms of affection from the chief of some established house, with whom he was connected by marriage or other ties. A third might prefer something more personal ; charges symbolical, perhaps, of his profession and career, or a canting coat suggested by his name. The shield in question may be an example of this last class ; but the treatment, I repeat, is not exactly that of the herald or herald painter.

The origin of a certain number of armorial designs has been traced to antique gems. Hence come such cognisances as the Sagittarius, the Pegasus, the salvage man, the head bound with fillet or wreath. A gem, we may suppose, set in a signet ring, was handed down from generation to generation, with a legend perhaps attached to it, until the device upon it

<sup>1</sup> *Ancestor*, ix. 166.



was either chosen deliberately as a crest, or erroneously conceived to represent one. Possibly in other instances the design of a medieval seal engraver was similarly adopted, whether consciously or by misapprehension, for a coat of arms; and the fox and goose is very probably a case in point.

The seal, of which a rough drawing is here given, may lend support to this contention. Its subject happens to be the same; and the device, in no way purporting to be armorial, is curiously similar in treatment to that of the later draughtsman. This was the seal of one John le Fox, and was appended to a letter of attorney, dated 35 Edward I. (1307).



The seal of Simon de Alvitheleye, of which a drawing is also given, affords a remarkable parallel. It is taken from a deed of 1300, in the same collection, which came to my hands some years ago by the kindness of the late Mr. H. S. Grazebrook. Both instruments relate to land in the Shropshire parish of Alveley, lying below Bridgnorth on the left bank of the Severn, adjacent to the Staffordshire border and to the ancient forest of Morf.

The design of this second seal again—the buck's head surmounted with the cross formy, with crescent and star to fill the vacant spaces on either side below—suggesting as it does the legend of St. Hubert, is of a type not uncommon, I believe, in forest districts, and makes no pretence to be armorial. Yet it reappears at a later date with little alteration, as the coat of a family named Vise of Standon, allowed by the heralds at several visitations of Staffordshire: 'argent, a buck's head cabossed sable, between the attires a plain cross

of the last.'<sup>1</sup> One might safely infer, therefore, that their arms were taken from a seal of this type, even if the manuscript of an earlier visitation had not shown such a circular seal in place of a shield.<sup>2</sup> No doubt other examples might be adduced.

I should like to refer once more, in this connection, to the well known coat of Holford in Cheshire, silver a greyhound sable, adopted also, with difference, by a distinct family named Halford in the shires. Originally the Holfords sealed with the differenced arms of Toft, their male ancestor. On a former occasion I remarked that the greyhound is probably to be regarded as a Lostock coat, since it was also borne by the Moretons, who descend from Lostock in the male, as Holford in the female line; and hazarded the question whether it could be connected etymologically with the name of Gralam de Lostock, an early member of the house.<sup>3</sup> The seal of Gralam has since been suggested to me as a more likely origin. True, the device upon it was interpreted (correctly, I have no doubt) as a running hart<sup>4</sup>; but the creature is so rudely engraved that its species might easily have been mistaken when the arms were devised.

Rather different is the case of a Cheshire coat of greater consequence, that of Mascy of Dunham. Mr. Round<sup>5</sup> long ago grouped together a number of families whose arms were quarterly of gules and gold, and was able to show that all of them were allied to the great house of Mandeville. But his list was not exhaustive. Two barons of the Palatinate also bore the quarterly coat, Mascy perhaps by the same title as the rest. At any rate the Beauchamps of Bedford belong to Mr. Round's group; while among the wives of the last baron of Dunham was a Mary de Beauchamp, of unknown descent, who was the mother of his daughters.<sup>6</sup> It may be that his arms came by this wife, and that he retained them, though he seems to have divorced her.

<sup>1</sup> William Salt Soc. v. pt. 2, 295.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. iii. pt. 2, 144.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancestor*, ii. 152.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 129, 148.

<sup>5</sup> See his *Geoffrey de Mandeville*. He has since added Despenser (*Peerage Studies*, 328-9).

<sup>6</sup> *Genealogist*, new ser. xvi. 17. I am not aware of any evidence for the use of this coat by earlier barons, nor indeed of any contemporary evidence for it at all.

Several of the quarterly coats collected by Mr. Round, that of Beauchamp among them, were marked by various differences. Like Vere, Mascy differenced his by a charge in the first quarter, in this case a lion passant. Now in slight drawings that I have seen of Mascy seals there appears the rude outline of a beast, which I take to be meant for a lion. The same device may have been borne perhaps upon their shields; but once more upon the seal it is not treated armorially. When therefore the baron adopted his new coat, and it became necessary to consider the question of a suitable difference, it seems not improbable that he also had recourse to the art of the engraver; and that the device upon his seal reappeared as the charge upon his coat of arms.

W. H. B. BIRD.



## FRIAR BRACKLEY'S BOOK OF ARMS

**T**HIS curious little book of arms has a peculiar value by reason of its connection with the famous Paston letters. Friar John Brackley, D.D., a grey friar of Norwich, was the constant correspondent and hanger-on of the house of Paston between 1440 and 1460. The volume is small, with but one shield to a page. The shields are in colours and are of unequal merit and finish. Our illustrations are of the better examples.

All the shields commemorate the descents and alliances of the Pastons and their kinsfolk the Barreys and Mawtebys. Agnes, daughter of Sir Edmund Barrey of Marlingford, knight, married William Paston of Paston, the settlement before marriage being dated the eve of the Annunciation, 8 Hen. V. [24 March 1419-20]. Margaret, daughter and heir of John Mawteby, esquire, the wife of John Paston about 1440, made her will 4 February 1481-2, and thereby directed that many of the shields in this MS. should grace her tomb. Four scutcheons were to be at the corners of her gravestone, whereof 'the first scochen shalbe of my husbondes armes and myn departed, the ij<sup>de</sup> of Mawtebysarmes and Berneys of Redham departed, the iij<sup>de</sup> of Mawtebysarmes and the Lord Loveyn departed, the iiij<sup>th</sup> of Mawtebysarmes and Sir Roger Beauchamp departed. And in myddys of the seid stoon I will have a scochen sett of Mawtebysarmes allone.'

The arms are followed by some obscure pedigree notes of the Barreys, and these by directions for those who have 'an affection' to learn the French language, with a short grammar of that tongue.

The book was once in the hands of John Ives, Suffolk Herald extraordinary, some notes by him being written on the title pages in the tiniest of handwritings under the date of St. Stephen's Day 1772. It rests now in the collection of a more distinguished Norfolk antiquary, Mr. Walter Rye having acquired it in 1897.

1. Gules [no charges] *impaled with* silver a cross engrailed gules between four bougets sable *for* BOURCHER.<sup>1</sup>

2. Quarterly gules and gold with a pierced molet silver in the quarter *for the* ERLE OXFORD *impaled with* gules a bend between six crosslets fitchy silver *for* HOWARD.

3. Silver six fleurs de lys azure with a chief indented gold *for* W. PASTON.

4. PASTON *impaled with* silver a cheveron sable between three bears' heads sable cut off at the neck with golden muzzles *for* BARREY.

5. Silver a fesse gules with two crescents gules in the chief *for* WACHESHAM *impaled with* azure a leopard rampant gold *for* HETHERSETT.

6. Sable a fesse and two cheverons gold *for* JERBRYGG *impaled with* silver a fesse gules with three golden crowns thereon.

7. Checkered gold and gules with a bend ermine *for* CLYFTON *impaled with* gold flowered with sable *for* MORTIMER.

8. PASTON *impaled with* gold a cheveron 'gules between three lions' heads razed gules with three roundels sable on the cheveron *for* SOMERTON.

9. BARREY *impaled with* WACHESHAM.

10. Checkered silver and gules *for* MOWNCL.

11. Gules a scutcheon silver with an orle of silver martlets.

12. Party azure and gules with a cross engrailed ermine *for* BERNEY.

13. Azure three sheaves gold *for* REDAM [?] *impaled with* gules a cheveron silver between three eagles silver *for* CASTOWN.

14. Silver a chief indented gold,<sup>2</sup> *impaled with* azure a cross gold [MAWTEBY].

<sup>1</sup> The names attached to the shields are italicised in the cases where a later hand has inserted them.

<sup>2</sup> This is doubtless for the arms of Paston, the flowered field being left unfinished.

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15. MAWTEBY *impaled with* gules a fesse and six martlets of gold *for* BEUAUCHAMP, LORD OF POWIKE.

16 Sable a bend silver [*sic*] with cotises dancy gold *for* CLOFTON.

17. Silver a fesse sable between three crescents gules *for* PATSULL *impaled with* paly azure and silver of eight pieces and a bend gules with three eagles gold thereon *for* GRANSUN.

18. MAWTEBY *impaled with* gules billety gold and a fesse silver *for* Lo[VEYNE].

19. Party gold and gules with a lion passant silver *for* PLAYSE.

20. Silver a fesse azure *for* CLERE *impaled with* ermine a chief gules charged with a fesse indented silver with a billet azure on each fusil.



21. BARREY [the bears' heads unmuzzled], *impaled with* silver a chief indented gules *for* HENGRAVE.

22. Barrey *impaled with* silver a fesse gules between six crosslets fitchy gules CRAUEN.

23. Gules a saltire engrailed silver *for* KER[DE]STON.

24. Gules [three round buckles pencilled] *for* KATISFYLDE [?] *impaled with* gules a chief [the chief with two pierced molets pencilled within a border!] *for* BACON.



25. Quarterly gold and gules with a border engrailed sable charged with scallops silver *for* HENINGHAM *impaled with* silver a bend azure *for* GISSYNG.

26. Paston *impaled with* azure a scutcheon gold and a border of martlets gold *for* GYNNEY or PECHE. *A later hand sets* WALCOT *in place of these two names.*

27. MAWTEBY *impaled with* CLIFTON.

28. Quarterly gold and gules with a baston sable *for* CLAVERYNG.

29. Gules three gimel bars gold and a quarter silver with five billets. . . FYSEBERDE. [FITZOSBORN.]

30. Gules a bend engrailed gold SIRE MARCHALL. *A later hand adds* Marshall, *olim Lord of the mannors of Buxton and Sparham.*

31. BARREY *impaled with* JERBRYGG [as in No. 6].

32. Silver a chief indented gold *impaled with* silver a fesse azure.



33. Silver a cheveron gules with three fleurs de lys gold *for* PEVERE *impaled with* silver three lions gules.

## FRIAR BRACKLEY'S BOOK OF ARMS 91

34. Azure a chief indented gold *for* MOUNSIRE LE GLANVYLE.
35. Gules a cross silver with five voided lozenges sable.
36. Checkered gold and azure with a fesse silver *for* MOUNSIRE SPREGGEYS.
37. Gules a bend checky gold and azure [with six crosslets pencilled in the field].
38. *PASTON impaled with* sable a scutcheon gold and a border of martlet gold.
39. Gold [with traces of a leaping lion gules] *for* FELBRIGG.
40. Quarterly gold and azure with a bend gules and three crosslets gold on the bend *for* SIRE JON FASSETOLFE.



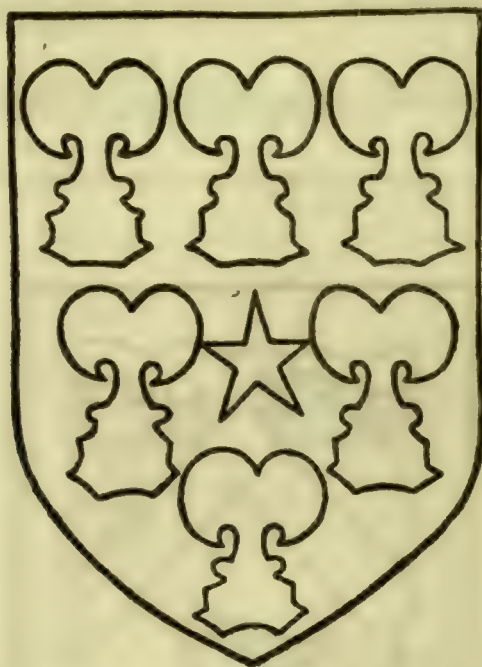
41. Gules a cheveron between three boars' heads silver, with a border engrailed silver.

42. Quarterly sable and silver with a bend gules and three molets silver on the bend *for* CLIPPESBY *impaled with* silver three lozenge buckles gules *for* JERNYGHAM.

43. [PASTON].

44. Azure a cinqfoil ermine with a border engrailed gold *for* SIRE ASTELEY.

45. Gules six hands silver *for* VAUX *or* GORNEY *or* ROKEWODE <sup>1</sup>



46. Silver six chessrooks sable and a molet sable in the midst *for* difference *for* ROKEWOOD.

47. Silver two bars gules and a quarter gules with a baston sable.

48. Vert two cheverons silver each with three cinqfoils gules *for* SWANTON *impaled with* PASTON.

<sup>1</sup> The shield may be meant for the six gloves of Wauncy, as is suggested by a note in a more modern hand.





49. Sable a'bend ermine with cotises dancy gold. [CLOFTON.]



50. Sable three martlets silver for NANTON.

51. Gules a chief ermine *for* NARBOROW.
  
52. Gules a cross flory silver *for* WALSHAM *impaled with two coats* PASTON *above* SWANTON.
  
53. Azure three boars gold *for* BACON.
  
54. Azure a fesse and two cheverons gold *for* GRAY DE MERTON.
  
55. Quarterly silver and azure with a bend sable and three martlets gold on the bend *for* GROSSE.
  
56. Silver three lozenges buckles gold *for* SIRE GUNTUN *impaled with* azure a scutcheon silver with a border of martlets silver SIRE WAKESYLDE *or* WALCOT.
  
57. Gules a cross silver with a border engrailed gold *for* LEIGH.
  
58. Silver a cheveron azure between three squirrels gules with a rounde silver on the cheveron *for* LOVELL, *impaled with two coats* WAL[s]HAM *as in* No. 52 *above* PASTON.
  
59. Azure three griffons passant gold with beaks and claws gules *for* SIRE WYTTE.
  
60. KERDISTON *impaled with* azure a fesse between three leopards heads gold *for* DE LA POOLE.
  
61. Silver a fesse azure with three eagles gold thereon *for* CLEERE *impaled with* silver a lion gules and a baston sable *for* BRANCHE.
  
62. Gold three pales gules and a chief ermine *for* RENEX [?] *or* MOLOWSE.
  
63. KERDISTON *impaled with* silver a lion sable crowned gold.
  
64. Gold a fesse and two cheverons sable *impaled with* [HENGRAVE].

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65. Silver a cheveron azure between three scallops sable *for LITTLETON.*

66. Quarterly gules and silver with an eagle gold in the quarter *for ERPINGHAM impaled with two coats, one above the other, azure three roses on cinquoils gold for LORDE BARDOF and vert a scutcheon silver and a border of martlets silver for WALCOT.*

67. Silver a fesse azure with three eagles gold *for DOWDALE or CLEERE impaled with silver a millrind cross gules INGHAM.*

68. Silver a bend and six crosslets fitchy sable *for SIRE ROBERT TYE or ICHINGHAM. 'Tye weddid lady Ichingham now in Newsell.'*

69. Party gold and vert with a millrind cross gules *for OLIVER INGHAM.*

70. Party vert and gold with a lion rampant gules. [BYGOT.]

71. *A shield of twelve quarters* : i. PASTON, ii. SOMERTON, iii. WALCOT, iv. BARREY, v. JERBRYGG, vi. HENGRAVE, vii. [*as the impaled shield in No. 38*], viii. CLERE, ix. GLANVILLE as No. 34, x. [*as the first shield of 64*], xi. KERDISTON, xii. POLE.

72. Gules a cheveron silver with a rose . . . on the cheveron. [The spaces for two more roses are marked on the cheveron.]

73. Barry gold and vert with a baston gules *for LORD POYNINGS quarterly with gules three lions passant silver the whole impaled with PASTON quartering BARREY.*

These obits of the family of Barrey or Berry and its allied houses are written near the book's end.

Obitus of Hewe Barrey the vij day of May the yere of howr lord mccccl.

The obite of John fader of Edmond Barry the viij day of May the yere mcccclxvii, and the second day of May than nex fowlyng Edmund Berrey knyght was of age ij yere.

The obite of Cecile Barry wife of Hugh Berry and dowtyr of Heingrave xiiij day of May the yere mcccclxix. The same Cecile and Beatrix Thorpe graunt dame of Edmund Thorppe knyght weryn sisteris.



iiij id' Maij obitus Cecile Berry filia Heingrave uxor Hugonis Berry a° d'ni millesimo ccc quadragesimo nono.

Non' Maij obitus Hugonis Berry anno d'ni millesimo ccc quinquagesimo. Eodem die obiit domina Julian de Hetirsett.

iiij id' Octobris obitus domini Johannis de Wachesham anno d'ni millesimo ccc sexagesimo primo.

xviiij kal' Julii obitus domini Roberti de Wachesham a° d'ni m<sup>o</sup> ccclxvii.

viiij id' of Marcij obitus Edmundi Berry a° d'ni m<sup>o</sup> ccc sexagesimo septimo.

xij kal' Augusti obitus domini Johannis Berry a° d'ni m<sup>o</sup> cccxxxix.

Combustum magne grangie apud Markynford a° gracie m<sup>o</sup> ccclxxxviii.

Obitus Cicilie Barrei filie Hengrave uxoris Hugonis Barrei a° d'ni m<sup>o</sup> ccc quinquagesimo nono.

Obitus Clementis Paston [anno] d'ni m<sup>o</sup> [cccc] xix.

Obitus Biatricis uxoris Clementis Paston a° m<sup>o</sup> cccccix.

Obitus Edmundi Paston a d'ni m<sup>o</sup> cccclxviii lit' d' E.

Obitus Elizabeth Paston a° d'ni 1425.

Obitus Roberti Clere armigeri a° d'ni m<sup>o</sup> ccccxlvi°.

Obitus Willelmi Paston Justiciarij regis qui obiit a° d'ni m<sup>o</sup> ccccxviii litera dominicali D.

Obitus Magerie uxoris Johannis Mawdeby armigeri et filie Johannis Berney de Redam a° d'ni mccccxlv.

Obitus Elizabeth Rothenale a° d'ni m<sup>o</sup> ccccxviii que fuit uxor Johannis Clere armigeri postea Johannis Rothenale militis.

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Obitus Galfridi Somerton a° d'ni m°ccccxvi.

xj kal' Januarij obitus domine Elizabethe Gerbridge filie domini Roberti de Wachesham a° domini m°ccccii litera dominicali A.

vij kal' of Febr' obitus Alicie filie Tohme Gerbrege militis et uxoris Edmundi Berry militis a° d'ni m°ccccxxx<sup>ii</sup>.

iiij id' Octobris obitus Edmundj Berry militis a° d'ni m°ccccxxxiiij<sup>mo</sup>.

THE WANDESFORDES OF KIRKLINGTON<sup>1</sup>

THE enamelled stall plate of an early knight of the garter having been lately found in New Zealand, one may not wonder overmuch at Mr. McCall's discovery of a mass of valuable Yorkshire deeds at Castlecomer House in the county of Kilkenny. Christopher Wandesforde of Kirklington, the Lord Deputy, went over to Ireland with the Earl of Strafford in 1633, and Castlecomer became at last the home of the Wandesfordes and the seat from which they drew the viscount's title which five of them enjoyed. To Castlecomer the Wandesfordes carried the deeds of their Yorkshire lands, which Mr. McCall has now edited and annotated with a history of the Wandesforde family.

This family took its name from a manor near Duffield, a manor of the Percys, and Geoffrey of Wandesforde, first of the house, was granted lands in 1338 in the Percys' town of Alnwick. Four years later Geoffrey had a pardon for taking uncocketted wool out of the kingdom at the instance of Henry Percy. John Wandesforde, son of Geoffrey, had before the year 1370 married the heir of Kirklington, Elizabeth Musters, last of a family which had held Kirklington in Domesday under Earl Alan of Brittany, being probably Bretons from Moutiers near La Guerche. The evidences which carry the pedigree of Musters through the difficult period of the twelfth century are singularly complete.

Of the intimate history of a family of squires during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries little can descend as a rule to us, although the Paston letters show us the extent of our loss. Lawsuits concerning trespass and the like give us something wherewith to pad our list of names, the more so as the plaintiff in such suits is wont to magnify any personal challenging of his rights in an acre or a cowshed into a raid of bloody minded men in bright armour, riding and ravening

<sup>1</sup> *Story of the Family of Wandesforde of Kirklington and Castlecomer*, edited by Hardy Bertram McCall. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd., 1904.



with spear and sword. Wills come to the help of Mr. McCall from an early date. We have the will of the first Wandesforde lord of Kirklington, dated in 1391, with his gifts of gowns of green motley and russet with lambskin. John and Roger his sons both dying in October 1400 leave each a will. The one gives his mazer cup to the church for a mortuary gift, the other his best horse, with saddle and bridle, sword and shield. Roger had doubtless borne these arms beyond sea and had wandered as a younger son should, for he desires his executors to get for him a man who should go in his place as a pilgrim to the glorious confessors who rest at Beverley and Bridlington, to whom Roger had made a vow when he was tossed on the waves of the sea and all but drowned between Ireland and Norway.

The elder of these sons had further established his family by marriage. Isabel, a coheir of Colville of Dale, was his wife, a daughter of that 'Colville of the Dale' who was beheaded at Durham, a famous rebel whose fame endures because Sir John Falstaff took him, as witness the Second Part of *King Henry IV*. The second son of this marriage, a Wandesforde alderman of London, begat a son William, of whose treason and fall Mr. McCall should have had something to tell us.

Fortunately for the family the Wandesfordes have no story to tell of the wars of the roses. In 1484 John Wandesforde began to rebuild part of his hall of Kirklington, the old house of the Musters being decayed, and the new work of timber framing with wattle and daub was to be built by contract for but 6*l* 13*s*. 4*d*. This new work was to contain two parlours, four chambers, a pantry, a buttery, and a larder or two. With this cheap building work we may contrast the fact that when John Wandesforde died twenty years later one of his old velvet gowns was valued at 10*l*.

In the next generation Christopher Wandesforde married a daughter of Sir John Norton of Conyers Norton, a marriage celebrated when the bridegroom was eleven years old, but in spite of this alliance the squire of Kirklington kept away from that Pilgrimage of Grace in which a Norton was a leader with many neighbours to follow him. The will of this Mistress Wandesforde in 1547 disposes of many of those rare pieces of plate—standing cups, covered salts—which fashion in our own day has made so costly to come by, and of a set of thirteen

apostle spoons, whose price in a London sale room would be the price of a fair manor.

In 1568 another Christopher, the heir of Kirklington, married Elizabeth Bowes, daughter of Sir George Bowes of Streatham, the knight marshal. When the rising of the north country fell upon Sir George and besieged him in Barnard Castle, Christopher Wandesforde joined his father-in-law with his brother Henry and many horsemen. With the rebels were the desperate Christopher Nevill of Kirklington, who had married Christopher Wandesforde's mother, and old Norton of Conyers Norton, the Wandesfordes' cousin, who had been out in the Pilgrimage of Grace and now rode against his queen, a whitebearded man with nine sons following him. When rebellion was broken at the last, twenty-two names in Kirklington township were set down in the black list, and three of these suffered at the gallows. In such a hotbed of treason the staunchness of the squire of Kirklington must have been counted to him for great righteousness. He became deputy steward of Richmondshire, was a commissioner to search for 'superstitious trumpery,' and it is on record that he tried and condemned a Ripon witch.

The great man of the family comes with Christopher Wandesforde, who was born in 1592 to an estate impoverished by the fact that the heads of the house for several generations had died leaving young heirs during whose wardships the Crown and its nominees had batted upon the lands of Kirklington. He read law at Gray's Inn and came home to Kirklington. He married Alice, daughter of that Sir Hewet Osborne whose father, a city prentice, had saved his master's little daughter from the Thames to wed her and found a ducal house. The christening of Wandesforde's son George brings a famous name into the tale, for George's godfather was Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford. When Sir Thomas, then Viscount Wentworth, proceeded to Ireland in 1633 as Lord Deputy, his faithful friend Christopher Wandesforde went with him as Master of the Rolls. In 1637 the chief seat of the family was moved to Ireland, the castle and lands of Castlecomer in Kilkenny, twenty thousand unkempt acres, being bought as a country estate.

In Wentworth's absence, Christopher Wandesforde and the Viscount Ely were joint governors of the island, administering the absolute rule which had been established for the king, and



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when the Earl of Strafford, the great minister, left Ireland for the last time to go to his doom in London, he gave the sword of state into the hands of Wandesforde, who was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, 1 April 1640. But with the news of Strafford's arrest, the new Lord Deputy lost heart and health. Several months before the end came to Strafford, Christopher Wandesforde took to his bed and died. Living in evil times, he left no private enemy, and when his body was laid in its grave at Christ Church in Dublin the native Irish there assembled 'did set up their lamentable hone, as they call it,' a thing unknown at an Englishman's burial. From his prison in the Tower, Strafford avouched that in the Lord Deputy was lost 'the richest magazine of learning, wisdom and piety.'

The rebellion of the Irish in 1641 drove the Lord Deputy's family to England, where they came first to Chester. Here civil war followed them, and the wanderers were in Chester when it was attacked by Brereton in 1643. From Chester they would have gone to their own house of Hipswell, but Hipswell was in the full path of the war, and at the last they came to their ancient home of Kirklington. A curious tale is told of the adventures of the Wandesfordes on the skirts of the battle of Marston Moor. Young Christopher Wandesforde, a schoolboy in York, was going forth with other lads to get sight of the great battle whose guns were booming in the distance, when he was met by his elder brother George, newly home from France, who was seeking him under the shelter of cousin Edmund Norton's troop of royal horse. George Wandesforde took his brother behind him on his crupper, and followed by Scots horsemen, who had seen George in Norton's dangerous company, they rode in full flight to Kirklington Hall, which they were fain to enter by night and by a back way.

The next year George was under the Parliament's displeasure for presenting a parson of his choice to Kirklington, in whose place General Fairfax sent a sour fanatic, who preached but one sermon in the church, declaring all damned who used the Popish invention of the Lord's Prayer. Kirklington rose in its pews in hot anger, and a Kirklington Jenny Geddes was found to flourish her stool at the minister, crying that Kirklington folk were 'noe more damned than himself, old Hackle Back.' After this the solemn league and covenant



was refused by George Wandesforde, who thereby became a malignant manifest. The Hall and lands were sequestered, and the master was forced to take to the dales in a disguise. In 1651 George Wandesforde came by the early death which had waited on so many of his ancestors. He set out to cross the Swale, when it was swollen with rains. His horse gained the north bank without a rider, and the body of the squire of Kirklington was found two days later in a pool by Catterick Bridge.

The Lord Deputy's third and eldest surviving son Christopher was made a baronet by patent of 1662. His son, another Christopher, became in 1706 Lord Wandesforde and Viscount Castlecomer in the Irish peerage. Three generations saw five Viscounts Castlecomer, and the fifth was created in 1758 Earl of Wandesforde in the county of Kilkenny.

The first earl, an unimportant figure but a sitter to Sir Joshua, was the last of the old line. His only daughter married an Earl of Ormond, and her fourth son was made heir of the Wandesforde estates at Kirklington and Castlecomer. This Charles Harward Butler became Clarke on coming to a Derbyshire estate, and Southwell and Wandesforde when his mother's lands fell to him. His only surviving daughter married the Rev. John Prior, a Dublin clergyman, and her grandson is now Richard Henry Prior Wandesforde of Kirklington and Castlecomer.

Mr. McCall's descriptions and pictures of old Kirklington hall and church are of the greatest interest, and his full transcripts of the early documents at Castlecomer will make good material for Yorkshire topographers, although the translations present here and there an amateur's too literal interpretation. The personal names of the Latin charters follow the usual haphazard fashion in their setting down, some translating themselves into English, some remaining in Latin, and some going their way in that ghost language which is neither Latin nor English. It is difficult to understand why, since *Johannes* is translated as John and not 'Johan,' *Galfridus* should be 'Galfrid' instead of Geoffrey, or why *Willelmus* should be done into English and *Alicia* his daughter remain Latin.

All the principal family pictures are reproduced from photographs in a series continuing from 1585 to the nineteenth century. The student of armory will delight himself with the illustrations of the seals of the family of Musters (*de Monas-*

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*terii*). About 1180 we have a round seal of Walter de Musters of Bradbury, bearing the device of the *minster* church which plays on his name. This Walter is conjectured to be a younger brother of Robert de Musters of Kirklington. About 1200 Robert de Musters seals with the same minster upon his shield of arms in a most interesting seal. William de Musters, lord of Kirklington, seals c. 1325 with a curiously differenced shield, to describe which Mr. McCall finds himself at the end of his armory. Its bearings are probably the minster with an engrailed border and a baston. 'At the fesse point is the church or minster,' says Mr. McCall, 'a very unusual position for a crest'! So unusual as to be impossible, even in this instance, a crest being a cognizance borne on a helm.

This minster of Musters, however, became a crest in due time, for the Wandesfordes who bore for arms a lion with a forked tail carried the minster on their helms as a memorial of their ancestors, the old lords of Kirklyngton.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE COMYNS

THE munificence of the late Sir William Fraser has rendered possible the publication of that new and important work, the *Scots Peerage*, the first volume of which has recently made its appearance. Its editor, Sir James Balfour Paul, 'Lord Lyon King of Arms,' tells us in his Preface that a new edition of the well-known 'Wood's Douglas' has long been his 'ardent aspiration,' and that a good many years ago he endeavoured to bring it about. He further explains the sound principles on which the work is being written, namely the apportionment of the different families among a staff of specially qualified writers, working under his own supervision, and the employment of the best sources and of modern methods of research.

It is gratifying to those who have upheld such principles in this Review to find Lyon insisting that 'modern methods demand a much more thorough treatment of genealogical questions than was desired or even possible a century ago,' and that however creditable was the work of Douglas and of Wood, 'a more accurate and detailed account' had long been rendered necessary by the abundance of new material now made accessible, especially for the earlier centuries. If one were to criticize the plan adopted, it would only be in respect of the latitude allowed to contributors in following Wood or Douglas, though, one hastens to add, it is frankly recognized that 'so many errors had to be corrected, so many facts re-stated in the light of modern research,' that entire re-writing of the articles 'has been found better in many cases.' Probably the most satisfactory plan would be to place within quotation marks or otherwise distinguish all that is repeated from the older writers. With this slight exception the principles adopted are such as to raise our expectations high.

For Englishmen Scottish genealogy is essentially a thing apart. Owing to the different character of the records, other than monastic, of the two kingdoms, its materials, and, therefore, to some extent its methods, are to them strange



and unfamiliar. It is consequently difficult to form an opinion of the success at present attained in this enterprise, save in those portions on which an Englishman may feel competent to speak. One of these, as I conceive, is the origin of the famous Comyns; and I select that subject the more readily because, as that family is dealt with by Lyon himself, it is one that is likely to illustrate the application of his principles in practice.

The difficulties by which the origin of the great Scottish houses are but too often surrounded are in this case singularly lightened. For a confirmation by Henry III., in 1262, to John Comyn of Badenoch of certain lands in Tynedale recites that they had been granted to his great-grandfather, Richard Comyn, and Hextilda his wife, daughter of Huctred son of Waldeve, by King David and Henry his son. This confirmation, which was printed by Hodgson, the industrious historian of Northumberland, is the sheet-anchor of the early pedigree; it is in harmony with the descent put forward by John Comyn, when he was a competitor for the crown; and the existence of Huctred, son of Waldeve, is duly proved by the Pipe Roll of 1130, which shows that he was at that time a man of position in Northumberland.

It adds not only to the interest of a pedigree, but also to our means of tracing the history of a family if we are careful to identify the places in which it acquired lands. The four places named as acquired by Richard Cumin with Hextilda his wife prove to be Walwick in Wardon parish, with Carrow and Thornton in Newbrough chapelry, all lying close together just north-east of Hexham, and Henshaw in Haltwhistle, lying just above them on the Tyne. Hodgson, who established these identities, ingeniously conjectured that Newbrough itself (*novus burgus*) had its origin in the grant of a market at Thornton to William Cumin by Henry III. 20 June 1221. I should hardly describe these lands as 'the heritage of Hextilda's father, Huctred, son of Waldef,'<sup>1</sup> for they are styled only the 'maritagium' of his daughter who married Richard Cumin, and I strongly suspect that he left a son. For among the Swinburne of Capheaton charters is one of Alexander, King of Scots, 4 October 1177, granting to Reginald Prath of Tindale, his esquire, land which Ranulf,

<sup>1</sup> *Scots Peerage*, i. 504.

son of Huctred, had granted to Reginald in free marriage with his daughter, with exemption to Reginald from the drengage service due from it.<sup>1</sup> To this charter are witnesses, after two bishops, Earl Duncan, Odonel de Umfravill', Richard Cumin, Hugh Ridele, etc., the list closing with Symon, son of Huctred, and Adam his brother, names worth noting. I suggest that Richard Cumin was brother-in-law to Reginald the grantee, and that this charter proves him to have been living at its date. The *Scots Peerage*, which does not mention it, finds him living no later than 1176, but as the Pipe Roll compiled in October 1177 again mentions him, it confirms the evidence of the above charter.<sup>2</sup>

The connexion of the Comyns with Tynedale thus established was of long duration; for the lands continued in the Comyns of Badenoch till their extinction in the main line. In the charter of Alexander II., 10 March 1228-9, which gave his sister Margaret, as a marriage portion, the Tynedale lands of the Scottish kings, he reserved to himself (therein) the homage and service of William Cumin and William de Ros. This charter, granted at Edinburgh, was witnessed, among others, by William Cumin as Earl of Buchan, and by Walter Cumin.<sup>3</sup>

These Tynedale lands in the south-west of Northumberland must be carefully distinguished from Newham—otherwise Newham Comyn<sup>4</sup>—which David Comyn held 'de veteri feoffamento.'<sup>5</sup> It lay in the north of the county, just to the south of Bamburgh, and must have come to him through his marriage with a Valoines, it having been held by Geoffrey de Valoines, who was enfeoffed there by William de Vesci, to hold it by the service of half a knight.<sup>6</sup>

From their Tynedale lands Richard Cumin and Hextilda gave Carrow to the neighbouring priory of Hexham. The

<sup>1</sup> This charter was confirmed to John, son of Reginald, by King William, William de 'Lindesay' being a witness.

<sup>2</sup> I do not know why it is doubtfully observed (*S.P.* i. 504) that 'it may have been he who in 1176 was fined £100 for not attending the Justice ayre (*sic*) in Northumberland.' There is no reason for doubting the identity, which was asserted by Wood.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, i. 127.

<sup>4</sup> 'Neuham Cumyn' in *Testa*, p. 383.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 384.

<sup>6</sup> *Liber Rubens*, p. 428. The name is there given as 'Wall[ibus].'. Compare Dugdale's *Baronage*, i. 441.

charter, which is well known,<sup>1</sup> mentions his brother Walter 'et hæredes meos,' and is witnessed by a Morville, two Umfravills, a Sumerville, William de 'Lindeseia,' Walter Cumin, and others. This charter is known to Lyon, but not, it would seem, that (which is of more genealogical importance) by which Richard grants to Rievaulx Abbey twelve bovates in Stonecroft and Thornton 'concessu et bona voluntate Hextildis uxoris meæ et hæredum meorum Willielmi, Odinelli, et Symonis.' It is witnessed by the convent of Hexham Priory and several others, including 'Willelmo clerico de Lindesia,' who must have been a clerical member of the Lindsay family.<sup>2</sup> Richard's charter to Holyrood (mentioned in the *Scots Peerage*) is similarly granted (in King William's time), 'assensu et consilio Hestildæ uxoris meæ,' and has 'Odinello et Simone filiis meis' among its witnesses,<sup>3</sup> while its confirmation by David de 'Lyndesey' speaks of the charters of Richard and of William his son.<sup>4</sup>

Here then we have the same three sons occurring in the Rievaulx and the Holyrood evidence, but not the alleged youngest son, 'David, who married Isabella daughter and heiress of Roger de Valloniis of Easter Kilbride,' of whom 'descended the Comyns of Kilbride.'<sup>5</sup> I do not here deny David's affiliation, but I cannot discover in Lyon's article on what evidence it is based.<sup>6</sup>

It is interesting to find that Henry Revel is a witness to Richard's Holyrood charter, for Richard himself and Henry Revel were among the prisoners captured with the Scottish king at Alnwick (13 July 1174).<sup>7</sup> I do not find in the *Scots Peerage* this incident in Richard's career.<sup>8</sup> He was, with William de 'Lindeseie' and Philip de 'Valuines,' among the sureties for the treaty of Falaise (August 1175);<sup>9</sup> but although, as we have seen, his name is found in connexion with those of members of the great house of Lindsay, we do not know what was the connexion, feudal or other.

<sup>1</sup> It is printed in Hodgson's *Northumberland*, vol. ii. part 3, p. 396, and in *Hexham Priory* [II.], *The Black Book* (Surtees Society), pp. 84-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Rievaulx Cartulary* (Surtees Society). On p. 215 is its confirmation by his widow, 'Hextildis comitissa de Eththetala,' then Countess of Athole.

<sup>3</sup> *Holyrood Cartulary*, pp. 210-21.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 211-2. <sup>5</sup> *Scots Peerage*, i. 505.

<sup>6</sup> It is asserted in Mrs. Cumming Bruce's book (on which see below) but is ignored in 'Wood's Douglas.' <sup>7</sup> Hoveden, ii. 63.

<sup>8</sup> It is, however, duly mentioned in 'Wood's Douglas.' <sup>9</sup> Hoveden, ii. 81.



I have still to deal with Richard's charter to the monks of Kelso giving them the church of 'Lyntunruderic,' which is duly mentioned in the *Scots Peerage*. This gift is made 'pro anima Henrici comitis domini mei et pro anima Johannis filii mei quorum corpora apud eos tumulantur,' etc., the abbot and convent receiving 'Hextild' sponsam meam et filios nostros in fraternitatem suam.' Its witnesses are 'Hextild' sponsa mea, Od' filio meo, Adam de Bonekil, Bernardo filio Brien, Gaufrido Ridel.'<sup>1</sup> Here again we have the son Od[inel]—a Christian name of the Umfravilles—but no son David. The charter is obviously subsequent to Earl Henry's death (1152), and 'Wood's Douglas' supplies the evidence for placing it before 1159.

Richard Cumin and his wife, we have seen, are well-known persons, and up to them the pedigree is clear. It is on Richard's origin that I must join issue with the *Scots Peerage* and its editor.

Here again we are fortunate in possessing the evidence we want in a definite statement by a chronicler—a local man. John of Hexham, who continued the chronicle of Symeon of Durham,<sup>2</sup> introduces us to Richard Cumin as follows:—

Mediante ergo Willelmo archiepiscopo, Willelmus episcopus et Willelmus Cumin convenerunt in foedus pacis ut Ricardus Cumin teneret de episcopo Alvertun et totum illum honorem, cætera de integro resignerantur in manu episcopi. Erat autem iste Ricardus nepos Willelmi Cumin, frater illius Willelmi defuncti.<sup>3</sup>

That he is speaking of the Richard Cumin with whom we have been dealing is certain on account of the connexion in both cases with the Scottish king, David. For this is how the chronicler comes to mention him. David's chancellor, William Cumin, had been, we read, a clerk of Geoffrey, Bishop of Durham, before Geoffrey's accession to that see in 1133, a significant date if Scottish antiquaries are right in placing William's first appearance as chancellor about that time. Now Bishop Geoffrey, who had trained William, had been King Henry's chancellor since 1123,<sup>4</sup> and we thus make the interesting discovery that the Scottish king had taken his chancellor straight from the English chancery.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Liber de Calchou*, p. 226.    <sup>2</sup> He wrote under Henry II.

<sup>3</sup> *Symeon of Durham* (Rolls Series), ii. 316.    <sup>4</sup> *Feudal England*, p. 485.

<sup>5</sup> 'Erat enim quidam regis Scotiæ cancellarius, videlicet Willelmus Cumin, jampridem ejusdem Gaufridi ante episcopatum clericus. Siquidem et ante

David was accompanied by his chancellor to the disastrous 'Battle of the Standard,' 1138, when the armed might of Scotland was shattered by the English levies, and William was captured in the rout and kept prisoner at Durham till released from captivity as a clerk by the Papal Legate.<sup>1</sup> Before long William found himself at Durham again, seeking by his old master's deathbed to secure for himself the succession to the see. Bishop Geoffrey died at Rogation-tide 1141, and William, supported by the Scottish king, obtained possession of the castle. With the help of certain barons of the see he set himself to obtain the bishopric, and would actually have been given the ring and staff by the empress on Midsummer Day in London, had not the rising of the citizens sent them forth in flight.<sup>2</sup> Then, when the empress fled from Winchester, the peripatetic chancellor was again in flight and met his royal master, a fugitive like himself, at Durham. David, on behalf of the empress, installed him there as *custos*, and thenceforth the troubles of the times enabled him to hold at least the temporalities of the see, not as Lyon states 'for more than three years' from 1142, but from 1141 to 1144.

It was in 1144 that his violent rule came to an end. A young nephew and namesake of his trained to the profession of arms,<sup>3</sup> met his death while supporting his uncle, and—even as King Stephen, some years later, on his heir's untimely death, recognized Henry as his successor by a compromise which secured the interests of his younger son William—so the intruder, William Cumin, allowed the lawful bishop to obtain possession of his see on St. Luke's Day (18 October) 1144 by a compromise which enabled Richard Cumin, a brother of his nephew William, to retain the castle of Northallerton with its *Honor*.<sup>4</sup>

*ab annis adolescentiæ educaverat* (Symeon of Durham, i. 143 (compare i. 161). I find that this point is duly noted in 'Wood's Douglas.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Willelmus Cumin, David regis Scottiæ cancellarius, de supradicto bello fugiens captus et incarcerationis ibidem detinebatur' (Richard of Hexham, *De gestis Regis Stephani*).

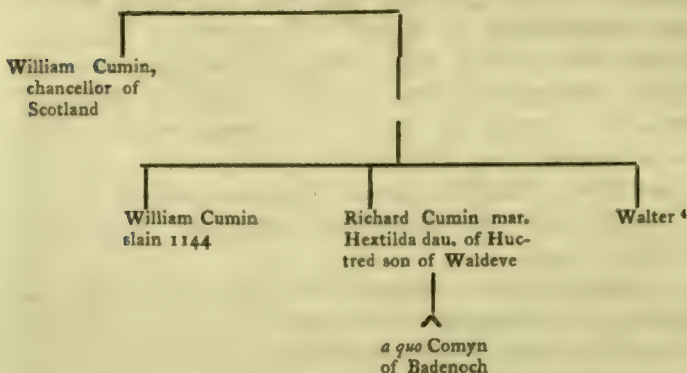
<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey de Mandeville, pp. 85-6.

<sup>3</sup> 'Juvenis miles Willelmus, nepos Willelmi Cumin, cum favore multorum edoctus res militares disponere, et negotia populi administrare' (Symeon of Durham, ii. 316).

<sup>4</sup> i.e. its territory; Lyon oddly renders it 'honours'! 'Wood's Douglas' correctly gives 'the honour (*sic*) and castle.'

The Durham chronicler is careful to note that William did not escape from the scenes of his violence in peace; Richard de Luvetot intercepted and imprisoned him,<sup>1</sup> and Robert de 'Mundavilla,' a baron of the bishopric,<sup>2</sup> who had married (we are frankly told) Bishop Geoffrey's daughter, and who owed him a grudge for his treatment, repaid him by slaying Osbert, another of his young nephews, who served Henry of Scotland.<sup>3</sup> When we remember that Richard Cumin speaks in his charter to Kelso of this Henry as his lord, we see how the fortunes of the family were connected with David and his son.

The following pedigree is now clear:—



I have worked out this pedigree independently for myself, but it is only right to add at once that it is identical with that in 'Wood's Douglas' (save for the addition, from the Hexham charter, of the younger son Walter), which begins exactly where I do and which gives the date 1144 correctly.

<sup>1</sup> The subsequent career of William appears to be involved in obscurity. Crawford (*The Lives . . . of the Officers of Crown and State*, 1736) alleges that he returned to Scotland, but observes (p. 8) that another chancellor was appointed by David and occurs in 1151. A William Cumin appears on the English Pipe Roll of 2 Hen. II. (1156) in a financial position of some importance, but the name is not exceptional enough for us to say who he was.

<sup>2</sup> This gives us an important correction to the official edition of the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (p. 417), where the Robert de 'Mandavill' of the Black Book ('Mandevill' in the *Red Book*) is classed as one of the Mandeville family (p. 1240), instead of being placed under 'Amundeville.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Percussit nepotem ejusdem Willelmi, Osbertum adolescentem militem amantissimum omnibus qui in obsequio Henrici comitis filii regis Scotiæ fuerunt.'

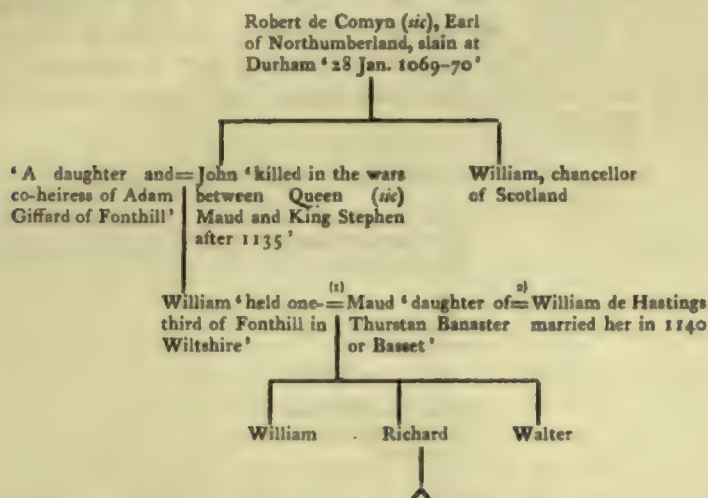
<sup>4</sup> See p. 4 above.



## THE ORIGIN OF THE COMYNS 111

But on turning to Lyon's genealogy, we first discover with bewilderment that he flatly contradicts himself. It is comparatively a trifle that he kills the younger William 'more than three years' after 1142 (p. 503), and on the next page enters him as 'killed in 1142 . . . as above-mentioned'; the serious thing is that he makes the two Williams 'nephew' and 'uncle' (pp. 503, 504), although his pedigree makes the younger William a *great*-nephew of the elder one. It is the pedigree, of course, that is wrong here, and indeed, as we shall see, not only wrong, but absolutely baseless from the Conquest.

For here is Lyon's pedigree:—

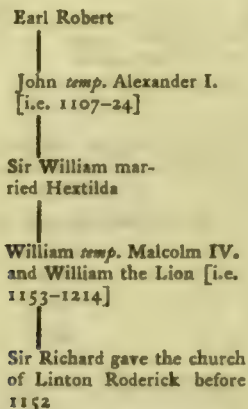


We have here a very feast of errors. They are so profusely scattered that it becomes difficult to select; one can only take them *seriatim*.

Why, in the first place, is Earl Robert made father to the chancellor? And why, in the second, is he styled Robert 'de Comyn'? The two questions have some connexion, for the answer to the first appears to be that the alleged paternity is but an instance of the reprehensible practice, formerly common enough, of seeking a progenitor in any one of sufficient eminence whose name was or seemed to be that of the family into which he was pitchforked by the pedigree-maker in a difficulty. Mr. Freeman, who gives the date of Earl Robert's death as January 1068-9 (not 1069-70), pointed out that Orderic styled him Robert 'de Cuminiis,'

while Symeon of Durham made him Robert 'cognomento Cumin.' Why then style him 'de Comyn' ?<sup>1</sup>

As the chancellor, according to Lyon's pedigree, must have been seventy-five years old, at the least, when, with his youthful nephew, he made himself a terror to his foes, we must press for the proof that the earl was his father. 'Not the least important feature of this work,' Lyon writes as its editor, 'is the fact that, wherever possible, references have been given to the various authorities for the statements made. This is especially the case as regards the older dates' (p. xiii.). But, alas, we are only told that the earl 'is said to have had two sons,' John and William. 'Is said' by whom, or where? Is this among the secrets of the Lyon Office? We turn to Douglas, and from him we get a pedigree less elaborate than Lyon's, but even wilder and more wonderful. Its gist is this :—



Douglas, we see, is not responsible for making the chancellor a son of Earl Robert.

Let us, however, address ourselves to John; for of Lyon's Comyn pedigree John is the crown and flower. That we have no reason to suppose that John even existed is a circumstance that need not deter us from studying the record of his life.

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of Orderic's name for Earl Robert, the 'de,' I believe, is invariably absent, which suggests that we have to do with a nickname of the usual Norman type. But, although cummin (*cuminum*) was much in use when the surname makes its appearance, one fails to see the cause of its adoption.

II. John, the elder son, was killed in the wars between Queen Maud and King Stephen after 1135. He married a daughter and co-heiress of Adam Giffard of Fonthill (Dugdale, i. 499).

I must ask Lyon to take my assurance that the only 'Queen Maud' known to history at the time is *Stephen's own wife*, his loyal and devoted queen! And if the king's deadly foe, the *Empress* Maud, is meant, I must observe that the 'wars' between her and Stephen began only with her landing in the autumn of 1139, when John must have attained the respectable age of more than threescore and ten.

Yet they not only know at the Lyon Office that John was killed in those wars; they can prove his existence by his marriage. For here at length a reference is vouchsafed. True, the reference is vague enough; for among the notes at the foot of this page are 'Dugdale, i. 499' and 'Dugdale, v. 289'; the one, I conjecture, referring to the *Baronage*, and the other to the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. But perhaps they are much the same to a Scottish King of Arms. We try the *Baronage*, and fail to discover on the page cited the statement we seek. But, three pages further on, we do find Fonthill mentioned in connexion with a Giffard (who was *not* 'Adam') and a Comyn (who was *not* John) at a date considerably later than that of which Lyon is speaking! Is it, can it be possible that this is Lyon's authority? We are forced to conclude that it really is; for he makes John succeeded by William, who 'held one third of Fonthill in Wiltshire.' Now Dugdale, under 'Giffard of Brimsfield,' states that on the death of *Andrew* Giffard, 'in *King John's time*,' the Fonthill barony passed to three co-heirs, of whom William Cumin was one (i. 502). And under 'Comyn' he states that 'in 4 Hen. III. (1219-1220) William Cumin was one of the co-heirs to Andrew Giffard for the barony of Funtell, in com. Wiltes' (i. 685).<sup>1</sup> But Lyon's William 'died before 1140,' that is, some seventy years before a Cumin became co-heir to Fonthill!<sup>2</sup>

Now is such treatment as this fair to the great Garter King of Arms? In spite of his painful accuracy and of the care with which he gave his reference, he is here vouched to

<sup>1</sup> In each case he refers us, in accordance with his admirable method, to the original record ('Claus. 4 Hen. III. m. 2') on which his statements rest.

<sup>2</sup> See my paper on 'Giffard of Fonthill Giffard' in *Ancestor* (July 1903), vi. 138, and General Wrottesley's monograph on *The Giffards*.



warranty for a marriage of which he does not speak, at a date which his own statement shows to be out of the question.

With 'William' of the next generation our pedigree returns to dreamland, the land of Lyonesse. No evidence is adduced for the fact that 'he died before 1140, when his widow, Maud, daughter of Thurstan Banaster, or Basset, married William de Hastings.' The register of marriages for 1140 is unaccountably missing, as are also the files of the *Morning Post*; and the only roll assigned to 1140 ('5 Stephen') has long been known to belong to 1130. Moreover it does not mention this marriage. There was, it is true, a widow of a William Cumin who married a William de Hastings, but her name was Margerie, not Maud, and the document which shows her married to William is of 1216,<sup>1</sup> not of 1140.<sup>2</sup>

It should also be observed that if William 'died before 1140,' he can hardly have survived his venerable father, who fell in 'wars' which began in 1139. This, however, is of little consequence, for William also must 'walk the plank'; he must follow John overboard.

The entire pedigree of three generations, marriages and all, crumbles into dust. Whence then can it have been derived? We observe that it suspiciously resembles that which is given by Douglas; indeed the three generations are identical, though a fourth, in the person of a second William, has been obviously excised as impossible. One is reminded of Mr. Freeman's cruel remark that at least there is somewhere 'a last pound which breaks the back even of an Ulster King of Arms.'<sup>3</sup> Have we then here yet another example of that fatal system which I denounce on another page of this volume, that hybrid mixture of ancient and modern which endeavours to combine with modern genealogy the unsupported guesses of a bygone antiquary or herald? As the editor has recently observed in the pages of this Review (ix. 233), 'no pedigree, old or new, can be treated as presumably accurate unless the collateral evidence of records be in its favour.'

<sup>1</sup> See *Ancestor*, ix. 147.

<sup>2</sup> According to Eyton's *Shropshire* (V. 135) Maud, daughter and co-heir of Thurstan Banaster (not Basset) married Will. de Hastings (who died 1182) and died circa 1222. He ignores any Cumin marriage.

<sup>3</sup> See his article (on *Burke's Peerage*), 'Pedigrees and pedigree-makers' in *Contemporary Review*, xxi. 38.

Lyon's attempt to pitchfork into Douglas's pedigree evidence relating to Fonthill fails not only on account of the dates, but also because, as my articles have shown, the Cumins connected with Fonthill were the Snitterfield line, who were quite distinct from the Cumins of Tynedale and Badenoch, being found in Warwickshire, apparently, at least as far back as 1130.<sup>1</sup> They may, however, of course have been kinsmen descended from a common ancestor. The crude idea that men bearing the name of Cumin were all of a single line is one that requires to be discarded; in Warwickshire itself a separate line appears to have given its name to Newbold Comyn,<sup>2</sup> and Cumins are found also at Bristol<sup>3</sup> and at Rouen<sup>4</sup> in the twelfth century, while another set are discovered in Ireland,<sup>5</sup> possibly in consequence of John Comin becoming Archbishop of Dublin. We may trace, perhaps, the same idea in Lyon's suggestion that the first wife of Richard Cumin's son and successor, William, 'may have been a daughter of Robert Fitz Hugh, who in 1201-2 is said to have married a William Cumin, who paid fines for the marriage' (p. 505); for, apart from the fact that, on Lyon's showing, William must in that case have married his first wife some fifty-six years after his father's marriage, Sara, younger daughter and co-heiress of Robert Fitz Hugh, who is the wife referred to, died s.p.<sup>6</sup>

It will, I think, be admitted to be very unfortunate that a house which became 'perhaps the most powerful in Scotland' as early as 1258 (p. 506) should have had assigned to it in the *Scots Peerage* so fictitious an ancestry. The true origin of its fortunes in the rise of a churchman, a chancery clerk, is of peculiar interest for its contrast with the wild and stirring history of a race which comprised at one epoch 'no fewer than three earls and thirty-two knights' (p. 507).

It is also regrettable that a work intended, as one gathers, to represent the *fine fleur* of Scottish antiquarian erudition

<sup>1</sup> Pipe Roll 31 Hen. I., p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Which came by marriage to an 'Elyas Comyn' (*Regist. Malmesb.* [Rolls Series], i. 258).

<sup>3</sup> Pipe Roll Society, vol. xx. p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> See my *Calendar of documents preserved in France*, p. 8. An Odard Comin also appears as a witness to a charter of Henry Murdac, Archbishop of York (1147-1153).

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, the cartulary of St. Mary's, Dublin (Rolls Series).

<sup>6</sup> Baker's *Northamptonshire*, i. 224 (cf. p. 222).

should be marred by the amazing statement (p. 504) that Richard Comyn gave the lands of Slipperfield 'to the Augustine friars of Holyrood.' When I have to form an opinion on an English topographical work, I keep my eyes open for that double-barrelled blunder which converts the great order of Augustinian (or Austin) canons into 'Augustine friars,' and which represents to me the hall-mark of incompetence. It is positively startling to find that phrase employed by Lyon of a period when there were no friars—'Augustine' or other—in the country. And it completes that strange catalogue of errors which are here compressed into the space of barely two pages.

The really singular thing is that Wood's account of the origin of the Comyns, which the performance of Lyon King of Arms is avowedly intended to supplant, is itself absolutely accurate, although the older writer, as indeed Lyon reminds us, enjoyed fewer advantages than those at our own disposal. And yet Wood's modest preface does not raise such expectations as that of the *Scots Peerage*.

It was only at this point in my investigation of the subject that I discovered by a lucky accident the real source of that elaborate pedigree of three generations that Lyon has here published as the ancestry of Richard Cumin. The discovery is of so startling, indeed staggering a nature that I must invite those who doubt it to verify the fact for themselves.

Happening to look at Mrs. Cumming Bruce's *Family Records of the Bruces and the Cumyns* (1870), I there discovered, to my amazement, the whole pedigree set forth (pp. 394-5) as in the *Scots Peerage* from Earl Robert (with his two sons) down to Richard Cumin. Collation of the two versions proved the fact absolutely, while revealing certain changes, sometimes for the worse, in Lyon's version. It is, we at length discover, in Mrs. Cumming Bruce's book, that Earl Robert 'is said' to have left two sons, John and William;<sup>1</sup> it is there, also, that Richard Cumin is erroneously made 'grand-nephew, of the chancellor';<sup>2</sup> there also that the fabled John marries, fights, and dies; and thence that Lyon took that strange and tell-tale phrase 'the castle and honours of Northallerton.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 9 above.                      <sup>2</sup> See p. 8 above.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 6 note 4 above.



The unfortunate reference to 'Dugdale' is again a marked coin; for we find Mrs. Cumming Bruce writing:—

Dugdale, in his *Baronage*, vol. i. 499, says: 'In the Conqueror's time Osbert Gifford held ten lordships in Wilts.' He adds, 'there was one Andrew Giffard who held the Barony of Fentell (Fonthill), which upon his death (*temp.* John) was with the King's consent resigned to Robert de Mandeville, William Cumin,' etc., etc.

Now the fact that Lyon cites only p. 499 proves that he cannot have looked at Dugdale, for, had he done so, he would have discovered that it is only on p. 502 that Dugdale 'adds' the passage on Fonthill and Cumin; he must therefore have copied the reference from Mrs. Cumming Bruce.<sup>1</sup>

But the worst of it is that Lyon could not even copy her correctly. Of Earl Robert's alleged elder son John she writes:—

I. John killed in the wars between the Empress-Queen Matilda and King Stephen after 1135. He must have married one of the heirs of Andrew Gifford of Fonthill.

'The Empress-Queen Matilda' is a phrase that may pass muster, but the *Scots Peerage* makes it nonsense by omitting 'Empress,' the essential word. Again, the authoress only held that John Cumin 'must have married one of the heirs of Andrew Giffard,' and gives, in the passage she cites, her reason for that conclusion. But Lyon (p. 10 above) asserts that he actually did marry 'a daughter and co-heiress of Adam (*sic*) Giffard of Fonthill,' a mere blunder, for no such person as Adam Giffard is found in possession of Fonthill. Nor is the matter much bettered if we substitute Andrew, the right name; for as Andrew appears to have been a clerk, he cannot well have left a 'daughter and co-heiress.'

One need not pursue the comparison by collating Lyon's account of William, John's alleged son, with that given by Mrs. Cumming Bruce (the '1140' marriage appearing in both), but it may be mentioned that Lyon's 'Augustine friars' is a development of the earlier writer's 'Augustines of Holyrood' (p. 396).

It is but just to Mrs. Cumming Bruce to add that her work was avowedly written only to interest her own relatives

<sup>1</sup> The only reference given to Mrs. Cumming Bruce's book for the period here discussed by me is for the career of the chancellor from 1142. It is not cited for the pedigree at all.

in the names she 'felt honoured by bearing,' and that she modestly described herself as 'painfully aware of my own incompetence.' We need not, therefore, affect surprise to find her writing of the origin of the Comyns.

DE COMIN, COMYN, CUMINE, COMINGE, CUMMING.

According to Sir Bernard Burke (see *Extinct Peerage* on Moreton or De Burgo, Earl of Cornwall, A.D. 1068) John, Count de Comyn, and Baron de Tonsberg in Normandy, descended from Charlemagne, etc.

Indeed, I only mention this acceptance of one of the wildest of fables in order to illustrate the character of the work to which we have traced Lyon's pedigree. It is, he tells us, one of the principles adopted in the *Scots Peerage* that, 'wherever possible, references have been given to the various authorities for the statements made.'<sup>1</sup> Are we to conclude that, for obvious reasons, it was not 'possible' to vouch such a work as that of Mrs. Bruce as the 'authority' for those astounding statements with which the history of the Comyns begins?

The great Scottish houses are jealous, and rightly jealous, of their long and splendid pedigrees, pedigrees closely intertwined with the history of the Scottish nation. They will hardly care, one would imagine, to expose them to ridicule and to doubt by allowing them to appear side by side with such concoctions as the *Scots Peerage* gives us in the origin of the Comyns.

My only feeling in the matter of this work is that so important a publication, appearing under such auspices, calls for far more searching criticism than one of lesser pretensions. The experts in feudal genealogy are very limited in number, and it is, I think, their duty to test its claims to confidence, a task which is beyond the scope of the ordinary reviewer. Personally I have no cause of complaint, for it pays me the compliment of adopting wholesale my statements on the origin of the Stewart kings.<sup>2</sup> Even, however, when doing this it displays traces—if I may use the term—of the same amateurishness. For instance, the great abbey of St. Florent of Saumur in Anjou is disguised at the top of p. 10 as 'St. Saumur (*sic*) in Brittany.' A few lines further on we read of 'the Abbot of Marmoutier in Brittany,' al-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 9 above.

<sup>2</sup> Duly citing my *Studies in Peerage and Family History*.

though that important abbey lay on the Loire at Tours.<sup>1</sup> We then meet with a confirmation to 'the Priory (*sic*) of Marmoutier' of a gift by Alan Fitz Flaald 'of the title (*sic*) of the lands of Burton,' although the gift was that of the *tithe*, and was made to the monks of Lehon,<sup>2</sup> which was but a priory of the abbey of Marmoutier. Lastly, at the foot of the same page, we are told that 'Walter, the son of Alan, appears in the English *Liber Niger Scaccarii* about 1154, as vassal of William son of Alan,' etc., although the reference, if it were given, would be to those returns of knights in 1166,<sup>3</sup> which constitute a sheet-anchor in feudal genealogy. I must assure Lyon and his coadjutors that this is among 'the things that matter.'

Yet, in order that I may not part thus from the *Scots Peerage*, it is a pleasure to be able to say that on turning, for the second marriage of Hextilda, to the Rev. John Anderson's article on 'The Celtic Earls of Atholl,' one is struck by the care bestowed on it, and can well believe that, as Lyon writes, the book is greatly indebted to his learning and 'invaluable help.'

J. HORACE ROUND.

<sup>1</sup> Compare my *Calendar of documents preserved in France* for these houses.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. No. 1221.

<sup>3</sup> Entered in the 'Red Book' and the 'Small Black Book' of the Exchequer.



## FIFTEENTH CENTURY COSTUME

(Continued from Vol. IX. 136)

## XII

NANTES is besieged by the Earl of Buckingham, and defended against him by Messire Jehan le Barrois des Barres, Messire Jehan de Chastel Morant and many other knights and squires. In a December sally from the town two hundred men at arms, led by Messire Amaurry de Clichon [Clisson], the cousin german of the constable, and by the Sire d'Amboise, come out of the postern gate and fall upon the English quarters, carrying the first barrier of the bulwark, and taking prisoner the captain of the watch, a knight called Sir William of Quiseton. But Sir William of Windsor and Sir Hugh of Cavrelee [Calveley], who are resting in their tents, rise and ride to the aid of their men, driving the French and Bretons back to their gate.

The two English knights, charging alone upon the French host, present excellent illustration of armour *cap-à-pie*, the breast, back, and skirts covered with blue and purple stuff. Behind them will be seen the pleated jacket with false sleeves, and shoes with piked toes of great length. Of the defenders we note the fallen knight, whose blue coat is laced down the front. An axeman's basnet shows the survival of the nose-guard of the Bayeux Tapestry.





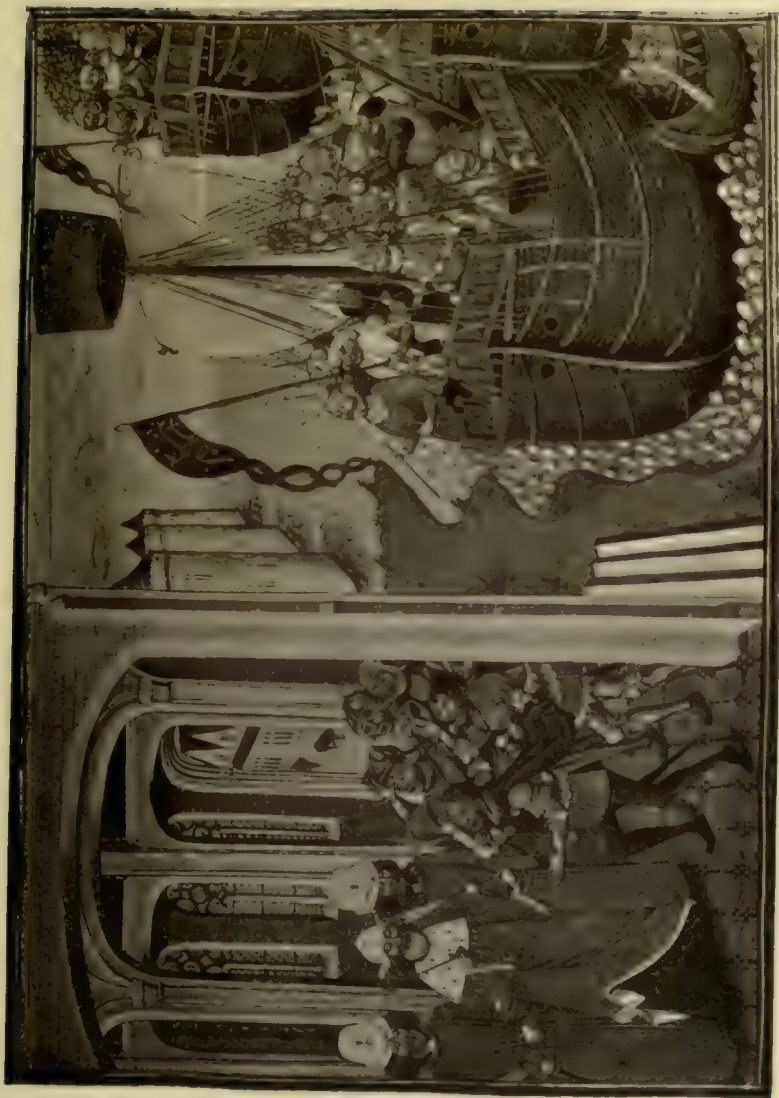




## XIII

Here three great ships full of Englishmen come to the port of Lisbon. They have no knight with them, but are led by three squires, one of whom, called Northbery, lands and addresses the King of Portugal, who thinks the English a host of the Duke of Lancaster's. But Northbery tells him they know naught of the Duke or he of them, they being men of all kinds, who ask only for arms and adventures.

The remarkable feature of the ships entering harbour is the great fighting top, which is gay with green and gold. As yet no piercings for guns are found. The forked pennons of the English arms have their sole origin in the artist's desire to identify these ships as English, for St. George's cross would have been a more probable bearing. That the painter was a Fleming is seen in the collar of the Golden Fleece worn by the two leaders on the first ship, a decoration which was not wont to come to English squires. The King of Portugal is dressed as our artist dresses all his kings, but the lord on either hand, with their tall white hats and twisted gold hat-bands, are more valuable pictures. There is nothing that calls for fresh remark in the armour of the English squire, but his whole dress is a good example of fifteenth century half armour, the legs being in red hose and unarmed.







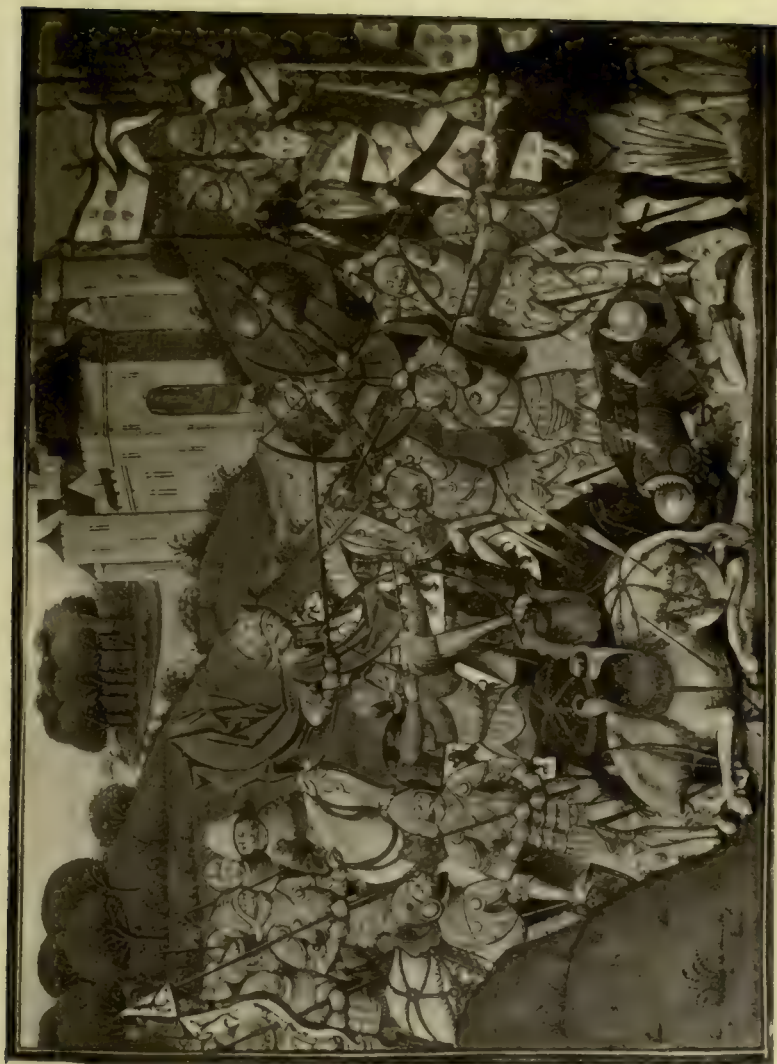


## XIV

Here the French vanguard of the King of Castile is attacked and routed by the men of Portugal and the English. 'There was the King of Portugal, his banners before him, mounted on a great courser all covered with the arms of Portugal.'

Here the most striking figure is that of the charging knight, whom the artist, with his usual recklessness of detail, has armed in the arms of Castile and Leon, as though he were the king of those lands. Again we have the beautiful lines of the horseman's cloak, open at the sides and seemingly longer behind than before. Note the shield on which the painted bearings have been accommodated to the large round boss in the middle. The two men-at-arms hewing before him show below the overlapping plates of their 'tonlets' a curious attachment like to the tail of a crab. The wounded horse, struck through with the long English shafts, is saddled with a saddle peaked high before and behind.











## XV

Here is shown how the King of Portugal discomfited the King of Castile at 'Juberotes.' In this fight was seen the quality of the Spaniards, who come fiercely to the assault, but having thrown two or three darts and given a stroke or two with the sword, they ride for their lives. At this battle no one was held to ransom, and many high barons of Castile were killed on the field, so many noblemen not having been slain in Spain since the Black Prince defeated Don Henry.

The two horses must be observed for their curious horse trappers with the arms of Castile and Leon and of Portugal, trappers which end close behind the ears. The crowned rider of the Castilian horse covers his plates with the short pleated jacket with false sleeves, in no way differing from the one worn in civil dress.

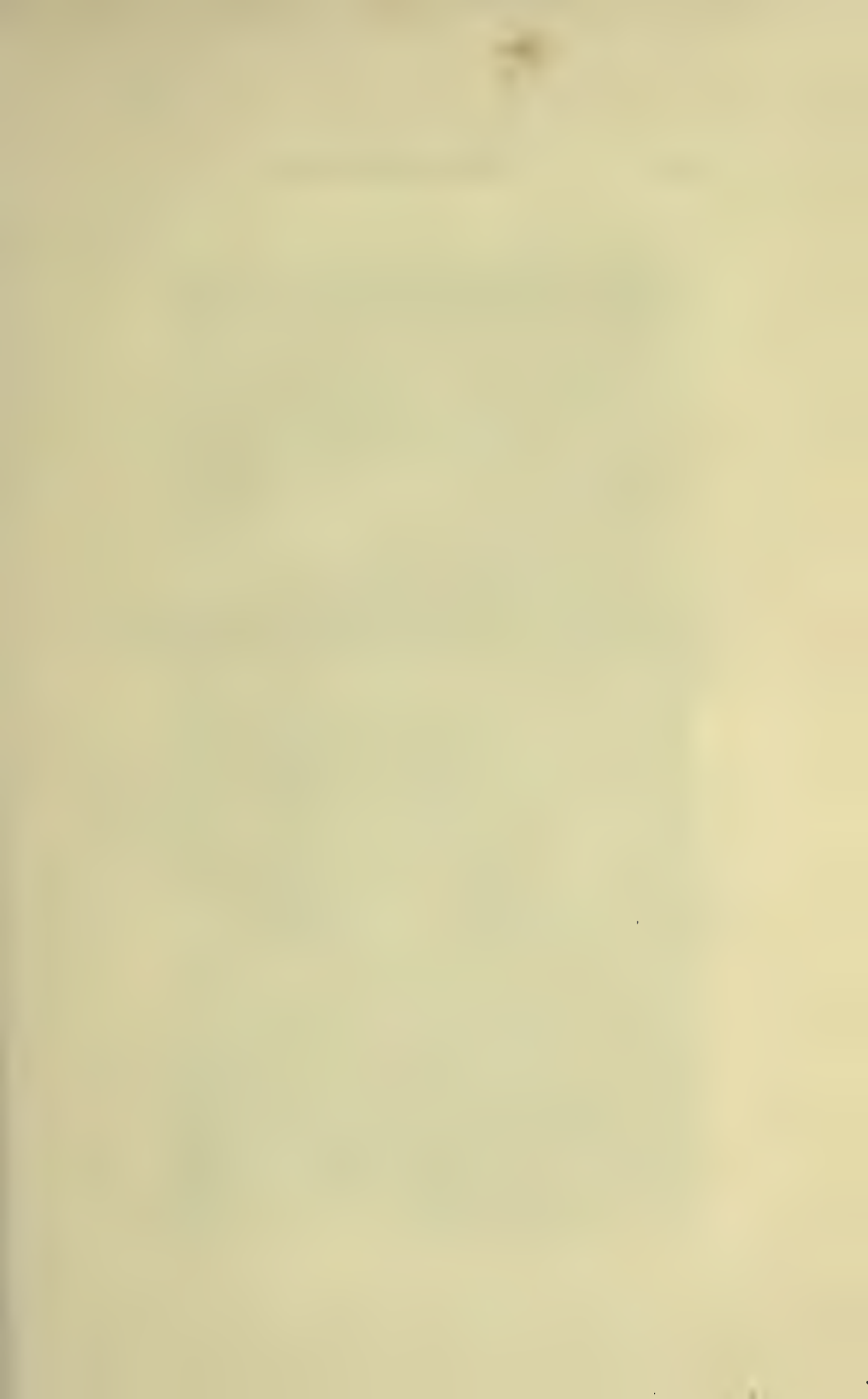
In the front rank of Portugal is swung a long mace with a small spindle-shaped head. The knight toppling forward beside the macer wears a sallet whose curved brim shows from what form arose the fore and aft brim of the morion of the next century.

Note the lance-rest upon the right breast of the figure in the foreground.









## XVI

Here Oliver de Clisson, the constable of France, sets a bastille before the strong castle of Brest in Brittany, of which castle the saying goes that he who is not lord of Brest is not truly duke of Brittany.

Of the figures, the crossbowman winding his bow is the most interesting, and the Burgundian tendencies of our artist are shown by his decorating the quivers with the familiar *briquet* or strike-a-light of Burgundy. The wooden bastille appears again in all the elaboration of its towers and bulwarks. The two cannon are worthy of study, that in mid-distance showing the arrangement of spike and hole for raising and lowering the breech.









## XVII

Here the burial service of King Ferrant of Portugal is made in the church of St. Francis at Lisbon.

In the midst is the great bier railed in, with candles standing about it. The crossed pall bears a shield of the holy lamb with four scutcheons of Portugal at the four corners. The mourners are in blacks, those seated by the bier having the mourning hoods which were worn at state-buryings at least until the reign of Elizabeth. The singing clergy are noteworthy for their hats, that on the left hand being a tall brimless hat of pale blue.











## XVIII

Here the Duke of Lancaster and his men land and come against Brest, before which wooden bastilles had been built as though to remain there twenty years.

The knight falling amongst the horse-hoofs must be remarked as showing the last development of the armour of the latter half of the fourteenth century. The basnet has changed little, but the camail does not appear to be laced to the edge of it. His coat follows on the old lines, but it is not dagged at the edge, it is slit open before, and the great belt over the hips is gone. The charging knight, clad in dark armour, follows the later fashions, and the eye is taken by the assemblage of small plates which allow free movement of the body. His shield is heater-shaped, but concave, and with a huge boss in the midst. His helm, with caged sights, is decorated with a single feather at the top.







## OUR OLDEST FAMILIES

### XII. THE GRESLEYS

**D**ESTRUCTIVE criticism has not yet done its full work amongst our ancient English pedigrees. Genealogies prolonged to the Conquest and beyond it still abound on every side, and share the honours of those few houses whose claims rest safely upon credible records. But the work of those who clear away the rotten timber of the Elizabethan and early Victorian constructions has gained in some measure the notice of the public. The long pedigree is suspect, and an attack upon it may count beforehand upon the sympathy of honest folk. It is time perhaps to point out that such sympathy may be as ill founded as yesterday's credulity.

In the Gresleys of Drakelow we have a Derbyshire family making the bold assertion that its seat and manor of Drakelow has descended to it from the age of Domesday, and in the right male line. Such an assertion, we believe, is still made by a dozen English families upon evidence which may be tossed aside by any prentice antiquary. Were the claim of the Gresleys allowed, it may be that but a single English family would take the field to maintain the like boast.

When therefore there comes forward a stout volume whose author's earlier archæological achievements fill fifteen lines of the small type following his name upon the title-page, when such a volume challenges the claim of Gresley to long descent, many will believe that another of our genealogical landmarks has been torn up and cast into the limbo which holds the stone inscribed by Bill Stumps with his mark.

Our author's attack upon the Gresley pedigree is with no sidelong suggestion of inaccuracy, it is an attack in front upon an entrenched position and the newspapers of the last month have shown that such an assault may be pressed home. He is upon his familiar ground, for in his preface he introduces himself as the laborious historian of Derbyshire. The modern

Gresleys of Drakelow are under fire as soon as his skirmishing line of italicised preface can extend itself.

A most impudent fraud was attempted in the enlightened age of James I., when a good many other impudent impositions were successful. A rich and, no doubt, very respectable family, having acquired great wealth, purchased a baronetcy when James set them up for sale to replenish his coffers, and bearing a very ancient Derbyshire name, that of Gresley, eventually purchased the land, and found a congenial herald to fake up a pedigree showing that the *novus homo* was of the old stock.

\* \* \*

In the absence of 'inexorable' evidence, no opinion can be formed respecting the origin of the present family of Gresley. The first baronet would seem to have acquired an interest in Drakelow, but how, or when, it is not stated.

Harsh words follow concerning the forged pedigree of Gresley, which was based, as it seems, upon the forgery of 'a few amazing charters.'

It is not, perhaps, very wonderful that in the age of the sagacious monarch—the only one of our kings who claimed to be a Solomon—that such an imposture should pass muster, but it is perfectly astonishing how it should have survived in this, so-called, critical age. The art of criticism is conducted very cheaply. There is no school for critics; any one who has impudence enough can pose in that character, and editors are generally so ignorant, that they cannot see whether their writers are properly equipped or not. All the modern critic has to do is to use 'dictionary words.' This terribly confuses ignorant editors. He must also be foul-tongued and abusive, sparing no one. . . . One of the worst critics of our day, Mr. Horace Round, who spares neither the living nor the dead, has exchanged the role of the critic for that of the author, and a good deal of this book has been necessarily devoted to exposing his crass ignorance and getting rid of the rubbish of the Jamish<sup>1</sup> writer and of his modern admirers.

The evidences for the pedigree of Gresley are not to seek. Those who would disport themselves with the forged pedigree of the first Gresley baronet, the *novus homo* of our Derbyshire historian, have all materials at hand in the excellent family history compiled by Mr. Falconer Madan. With Mr. Madan's work to aid we turn to the story of Sir George Gresley, the first baronet of Drakelow. The history of this person can hardly be said to be wrapped in obscurity. His life of more than threescore and ten years is before us in

<sup>1</sup> Being ignorant, and an editor, we were at first 'terribly confused' by this 'dictionary word.' We hazard that Jamish writer may signify a writer of the period of King James I. A writer during the next reign would be a Charlish writer, and Shakespeare is easily recognizable as an Elizabish poet.

every detail. He matriculates at Balliol in 1594, goes to an Inn of Court and lives at Colton Lodge until his father's death. Twenty-eighth on the list of King James's new order of baronets in 1611 is Sir George Gresley of Drakelowe in Derbyshire. He bears a bannerol at Prince Henry's funeral in 1612, is a commissioner of musters, and M.P. for Newcastle-under-Lyme. In 1642 Sir George Gresley breaks with the Derbyshire squires and knights, hot royalists to a man, and comes out in arms for the parliament, leaving his lands and houses to be spoiled by the cavalier garrisons. He married a lady of the noble house of Ferrers, begat five children, and was buried in the Temple church of London in February 1650-1.

And now for the new man's parentage. Mr. Madan, a kinsman as well as historian of the house, will doubtless move us by specious pleadings, by subtle guesses, to identify George Gresley the *novus homo* with some George who may be safely tagged to an older family of the name. But evidences in profusion give us as a father for Sir George Gresley one Sir Thomas Gresley, knight, of Drakelowe in Derbyshire, whose inheritance from his own father, Sir William Gresley, includes the manor of Drakelowe, upon which the family is still settled in this twentieth century, the manor of Colton, which he and his son, the *novus homo*, sell in 1609, and the manor of Rosliston, which George sells in 1629. With these is 'the mannor of Castle Gresley with the appurtenances in Castle Gresley . . . holden of the quenes majestie as of her honor of Tutberye.' Our natural respect for the Derbyshire historian suffers shock upon shock as we discover that this new man, this imposter who by obscure means acquired an interest in Drakelowe is manifest as Gresley of Gresley, lord of Drake-  
lowe by inheritance from no mean line.

We have seen that the baronet's father was a knight living upon his heritage, a sheriff of Derbyshire too, and deputy lieutenant, who attended Mary of Scots to Fotheringay on the last of her journeys. This Sir Thomas was returned heir of Drakelowe and Gresley on his father's death in 1573. That father, made knight on Queen Mary's coronation in 1553, was son and heir of Sir George Gresley, Knight of the Bath when the Lady Anne Boleyn was crowned, who had in Leland's day 'a very fayre mannor place and parke at Draykelo.' Our Derbyshire historian must therefore hark back



to days long before Sir George the *novus homo* if he would find by what secret chaffering Drakelow came to that 'Jamish' intruder.

Sir George Gresley, the Knight of the Bath, succeeded at Drakelow and Gresley to his elder brother, Sir William, a soldier at the day of the Spurs in 1513 and at the sieges of Théroutanne and Tournay, whose knighthood was given him by the king's hand in France. A fine of 1519 reckons seventeen of his manors, and an inquest shows that he was heir of his father, Sir Thomas Gresley, by Sir Thomas's wife and cousin, a Ferrers of Tamworth. Sir Thomas, twice Sheriff of Staffordshire, was son of Sir John, Sheriff of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, who was in arms for the White Rose in 1452, and for the Red Rose in 1459, who was at the crowning of King Richard III., and yet followed the first Tudor King in his northern progress. This Sir John was son of Sir John, who with his father Sir Thomas, Sheriff of Staffordshire and Derbyshire, and master forester of High Peak, was in France for the Agincourt campaign at the head of five men-at-arms and fifteen archers.

We are still long in coming to a point where the genealogy of Gresley may appear mean or obscure to the historian. With Sir Thomas Gresley the point is no nearer, for no doubt can be thrown upon his birth. He is son of Sir Nicholas of Gresley by Thomasine of Wasteney, heir of those Colton lands alienated by the first baronet and his father in 1609. Nicholas was son of a knight Sir John, son of Sir Geoffrey.

Sir Piers of Gresley, father of Sir Geoffrey, married Joan of Stafford. This knight and his wife are sketched for the family picture gallery with broad brush strokes in the records of their times. His slaying and his robbings, had he lived on the northern marches where the ballad-makers were, might have been sung up and down the country-side for many a long year. That his lady was his worthy mate is vouched for by her abetting her two Gresley lads in the murder of her late husband's son, Sir William de Montgomery, 'on the high road under the park of Seal.'

The father of Sir Piers, as became one who held under Ferrers, was in arms against his king, and lost his lands for a time as the king's enemy and rebel. Looking back from this point we find that our Derbyshire historian's *novus homo*, Sir George Gresley the baronet, who, as we are to believe,



crawled into the light under the first Stewart King, and gathered lands about him by pounds furtively pushed across a table at a place and time undiscoverable, was the successor at Drakelowe and Gresley of twelve knights of his name and house, for each of whom good proof is forthcoming. Truly the Gresleys of Drakelowe will do well to content themselves with Mr. Falconer Madan for a chronicler, and relinquish any attempt to obtain recognition from the historian of Derbyshire.

Sir Geoffrey, of the barons' war, followed five ancestors at Drakelowe, which manor is in Domesday Book as held by a great tenant, Neel of Stafford—*Nigellus de Statford*—whom a mass of evidence goes to show as the father of William, son of Neel of Gresley, who is found holding lands which Neel of Stafford held in Domesday Book, and lands in that Derbyshire Gresley which henceforward gave its name to the race. William and his son Robert held four knight's fees of that house of Ferrers from whose arms of vairy gold and gules the Gresleys in later days took their shield of vairy ermine and gules. Robert's son William held Drakelowe of King John by the service of a bow, a quiver and twelve arrows, the Earl of Ferrers being the mesne lord. His son Geoffrey was constable of the castle of the High Peak, and steward of the household to his lord the earl. Geoffrey's grandson was that other Geoffrey who rode with Simon of Montfort.

To the genealogist nothing can be more fascinating than the examination of those records which step by step carry the line of Sir Robert Gresley of Drakelow, who was one of those representing his order at the crowning of King Edward VI., to Neel, who held Drakelowe under the Conqueror. With such a pedigree content might come, but the ingenious pleadings which would derive Neel of Stafford from Roger de Toeni, who bore the banner of the Dukes of Normandy before the Conquest, have not yet ended. The reasonings for this proud beginning to the genealogy of Gresley are not fully accepted by antiquaries, but disproof has not yet pushed them aside. When the last word has been said it may be that the Gresley pedigree will dispute for place with the oldest line in England.

## WHAT IS BELIEVED

*Under this heading the Ancestor will call the attention of press and public to much curious lore concerning genealogy, heraldry and the like with which our magazines, our reviews and newspapers from time to time delight us. It is a sign of awakening interest in such matters that the subjects with which the Ancestor sets itself to deal are becoming less and less the sealed garden of a few workers. But upon what strange food the growing appetite for popular archæology must feed will be shown in the columns before us. Our press, the best-informed and the most widely sympathetic in the world, which watches its record of science, art and literature with a jealous eye, still permits itself, in this little corner of things, to be victimized by the most recklessly furnished information, and it would seem that no story is too wildly improbable to find the widest currency. It is no criticism for attacking's sake that we shall offer, and we have but to beg the distinguished journals from which we shall draw our texts for comment to take in good part what is offered in good faith and good humour.*

THE fact that a Duke and Duchess have gone down to their riverside residence at Runnymede, where they will have a 'party for Ascot,' does not at first suggest groundwork for the genealogically-minded paragrapher. But ingenuity will find a way or make one. Even the peerages yield no Grosvenor who was in arms on this or that side at the sealing of the charter, but—

The association of the Grosvenors with Runnymede is not an uninteresting one; for the family was already a prominent one, and had been so for a century and a half at least, when on June 15th, 1215, on that long stretch of level meadow near Egham, 'inter Windleshoram et Stanes,' took place the memorable subscription to the Great Charter which has made Runnymede immortal.

Let us put aside the century and a half of prominence which had been enjoyed by the Grosvenors before 1215. Mr. Bird's article in the first volume of the *Ancestor* sent into the air the myth upon which that boast is founded. When

we have said at the date of the sealing of the charter the earliest Grosvenors have come into the view of the patient antiquary curious concerning the lesser Cheshire houses, we have said all that may be said of the early prominence of the Grosvenors. But that their contemporary existence in Cheshire should be held to associate them with the doings of that famous June day is nothing less than amazing. By such reasoning a citizen, whose ancestor was a known and respected member of the Paddington vestry for twenty years before 1815, might be allowed to describe the association of his family with the field of Waterloo as 'not an uninteresting one.'

\* \* \*

In the last number of the *Ancestor* we spoke of the popularity of the myth which derives Lord Derby's ancient house from pre-conquest ancestors in England. Since then the legend has made again and again an entry amongst those newspaper paragraphs whose applause of ancestry has taken the place of the songs of bards. A late version hails Adam de Aldithley, who 'came over from Normandy with Duke William,' whose grandson William married Joan Stanley, *a descendant of the Saxon kings*. This royal dynasty of Stanley we greet as a new development; but our Danish kings would have made a better breeding stock. For it is evident that the Stanley pedigree is still growing, and a Stanley of the right Canute strain, who would bid the flowing tide of legend arrest itself, would do his family a service.

\* \* \*

Of Lord Barnard it is written :—

The trial of Harry Vane's claim in the House of Lords was perhaps one of the most remarkable which that august tribunal has adjudicated upon in recent years; but step by step Mr. Vane proved his case from that remote ancestry which claimed kinship with Howell ap Vane of Monmouthshire circa William the Conqueror, down through Sir Henry Vane, knighted by the Black Prince at Poitiers, and ancestor of the Earls of Westmorland, past that later Henry described by Milton as 'Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old,' and so to the father of the Vane whose eldest son became Earl of Darlington.

The paragraph leaves a thought uncertain what it was that Mr. Harry Vane proved before the august tribunal. What he proved was no more remote a fact than that his ancestor, Mr. Morgan Vane, who died in 1779, was a second



son of the second Lord Barnard, and we cannot help believing that the august tribunal has had more remarkable cases before it than one in which a gentleman produced before it the formal evidences of a relationship which was never in doubt.

\* \* \*

Had an attempt been made to prove before the august tribunal the kinship with Howell ap Vane of Monmouthshire, or with Sir Henry Vane, knighted by the Black Prince at Poitiers, genealogists at least would not have grudged 'most remarkable' to the case. We note that the honours of the second of these ancestral shadows are still growing. A knight at Poitiers was once description enough for him, but now he must take knighthood on the field from his prince's sword. It is sad to think that an irreverent descendant of this hero should have been the first to cast doubt upon his fame, and to suggest that Fanes and Vanes, Dukes of Cleveland, Earls of Westmorland and Darlington, Viscounts Fane and Vane, and Lords Barnard sprang with greater probability from a nest of Kentish yeomen.

\* \* \*

Carlton Towers in Yorkshire is happy in having a 'child peeress' for châtelaine, whereby the house is often described for us by our newspapers, together with its picture gallery, 'among whose treasures are the seals and signatures of William the Conqueror and Henry the First, as well as the regimental colours of the 20th Hussars carried in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo.' Antiquarian prejudice makes us regard the signatures of the Conqueror and his clerkly sons as treasures more remarkable than the embroidered honours of the 20th Hussars, for the reason that, outside the picture gallery of Carlton Towers no signatures of our ancient kings exist of an earlier date than the latter half of the fourteenth century. King John, it is true, scowling above his swan quill, signs Magna Carta in a thousand historical paintings of the great Gandish school, but no signed version of that document has been found for us.

\* \* \*

The family of Heneage distinguishes itself by allowing its claim to long descent to stay at the very threshold of the Conquest of England, the pedigree-makers, with a pleasant

appearance of judiciousness, claiming neither Norman nor Saxon origin for the race. But the statement which has followed us in various journals that 'the name of Sir Robert de Heneage appears as that of a witness to a grant of land to the monks of Brucra [*sic*] in the time of William Rufus,' does not carry with it enough to justify the addition of seven or eight generations to the pedigree of a family whose descent from a fourteenth century John Heneage of Hainton could probably be supported by proofs. If Heneage be a place-name, it may well have produced a Robert in the eleventh century, and that Robert an approving witness of a pious gift. Yet Robert need be no ancestor of John, who two hundred and fifty years later carried a surname derived from the same place.

\* \* \*

The heralds have hitherto, and with some reason, refused to recognize the county as an entity capable of bearing arms. But the new County Councils, bodies having common seals and power to sue and be sued, cannot be denied when they seek for a shield for their seal, their note-paper and their lamp-posts. From the *Times* we borrow this curious account of the devising of the new arms for the Council of Norfolk.

30 May 1904.

The King, in view of his long connexion with and residence in the county of Norfolk, both as Prince of Wales and as King, has honoured the county with the royal augmentation for a part of the Royal bearing to be embodied in the county arms.

At a meeting of the Norfolk County Council held at Norwich, on Saturday, Mr. le Strange announced that His Majesty, through Sir Dighton Probyn, had written stating that he gladly acceded to the request that he should confer this honour on the county. After communication with the College of Heralds it was decided to adopt the arms of one of the earliest Normans associated with the county—namely, Sir Ralph de Guader, or Wær, who went to the Crusades, and whose wife successfully withstood a siege of Norwich Castle for three months. The arms are per pale or, and sable with a bend ermine on a chief gules, a lion of England between two Prince of Wales's plumes, princely crowned or. The Royal augmentation was obtained by warrant, through the Home Office, whose fee of £50 was paid by Lord Amherst of Hackney.

An uncertainty of language is apparent in these paragraphs. 'The royal augmentation for a part of the royal bearing' is a phrase difficult to translate.

How can arms not yet called into existence have an

augmentation added to them? The royal beast has been adopted by many English towns as a part of their bearings, but never before has it been styled an augmentation thereof. And if the *plumes dostruce* of the Prince of Wales's badges are not to be assumed without permission, it would seem to be the Prince of Wales whose permission should be sought. The blazon of the arms is not easily read in the form printed, but more sanely punctuated it can be understood.

\* \* \*

We may take it then that the first part of the blazon stands for the arms of an Earl of Norwich who flourished and fell in the days of the Conqueror. The selection of his shield is an unfortunate one, and open to sentimental as to archæological objections. Tradition stamps the earl as the only traitor in the Norman host at Hastings, and as he lived nigh upon a century before armorial bearings had come into use, it would be interesting to know upon what authority these arms are ascribed to him. Unless indeed those of our heralds who hold that nobility has its root in duly registered arms have given themselves to the pious work of granting post-humous arms without fee or reward to those of our ancient lords who would otherwise remain ignoble in their graves. Such retrospective piety should persuade the Chinese that we are not a wholly barbarous people.

\* \* \*

We promised long since that in the present season the pre-Conquest ancestor should be in good fashion. Wisdom has since been justified of us, and we find ourselves compassed about with scores of records of those in whose family history the date of 1066 is but a landmark by the way. Two examples may be quoted. Our first paragraph is dealing with the Rev. the Earl of Chichester.

Curate and congregation formed a strange contrast, Mr. Pelham tracing back a clear descent from the holders of Pelham in Hertfordshire long anterior to the Norman Conquest; his cab-yard flock compacted of the scum of the Euston-road—cunning, cruel, brutal to the verge of savagery.

Comment fails, but curiosity remains awake. Domesday records no one lord, but several men, French and English, as holders in Pelham. Amongst these Lord Chichester may pick and choose his ancestor, but our own methods of genea-



logy are defective, and we are willing to learn by what means the selected forefather may be traced to a stock of lords of Pelham *long anterior* to the Norman Conquest. For there comes a point when public records fail. It is at this point that the inquirer may be recommended in a genealogical difficulty to consult the *Peerage* and the *Landed Gentry*.

\* \* \*

The case of Lord Stafford next intrigues us :—

Lord Stafford, who appeared as a witness in the Law Courts yesterday before the new Chancery Judge, Mr. Justice Warrington, is a Jerningham, whose name was a noted one in England long prior to the Norman Conquest. The family was Danish, and the name originally Jernegan. A Jernegan was settled in Suffolk in the time of King Stephen, and a son of his, one Hubert, appears in the roll of knights in 1203. A second Sir Hubert figured with the barons in their revolt against King John, and only escaped the headsman through the clemency of the third Henry.

As hereditary surnames were not found in England before the Norman Conquest, Lord Stafford's family may well have been reckoned a noted one in those far-off times, if only for the haughty disregard of anachronism which persuaded them to adopt such a distinction. It is but reasonable that the Jerningham family should know best where their kinsfolk had their origin, but the antiquary finds the first ancestor of this ancient house at a date in the twelfth century well this side of the Conquest, and finds him too amongst a group of Bretons, for which reason he might be reckoned a Breton had not the family pedigree written him down a Dane.

\* \* \*

Of those mushroom houses which are content to prove mere descent from the men of the Conquest we have enough and to spare. The death of the late Sir W. C. H. Domville has been followed in the newspapers by two accounts of his genealogy.

Rear-Admiral Sir W. Cecil Domville, Bart., R.N., died yesterday, at Ipswich. He was descended from the Lord Mayor of London who entertained the foreign Sovereigns after Waterloo.

Rear-Admiral Sir Cecil Domville died at his residence, The Chantry, Ipswich, yesterday. Sir Cecil, who retired from the Navy in 1893, traced his descent to a certain Hughes [*sic!*] de Domville, who came over from the town in Normandy of that name with William the Conqueror.

One of these two statements seems to us more genealogically probable than the other.

\* \* \*

In recording Lord Donegal's death an archæologically-minded journalist thus propounds the question of his ancestry :—

How far back the Chichesters go is a problem which has never been quite definitely settled, but there was a John de Chichester in 1433 who was eighth in descent from William de Chichester, and whose son married the daughter of the first Earl of Bath; and there was a Chichester in the first William's time who was doubtless a progenitor.

It will be seen that the noble Chichesters at least share the common lot, for how far back the pedigree of any one of us may go is a problem which has never been quite definitely settled by geologists or theologians. That John Chichester of 1433 married his son to the daughter of an Earl of Bath whose will was proved in 1541 seems also a point worthy of definite settlement, but that there was a Chichester in the first William's time cannot be doubted. A Colchester, a Dorchester, a Winchester existed at the same period according to sound authorities. If we are asked to believe also that a gentleman of that date bore Chichester for a heritable surname, and founded the ancient West Country family of the name, hesitation takes us.

## OLD CHELSEA<sup>1</sup>

**C***HELSEA Old Church*, as the title of Mr. Randall Davies' new book, says something less than the truth. We have here not only a monograph on the old church, but an account of the village of Chelsea, of the great houses—the Manor House, Beaufort House, Gorges House, Danvers House and Lindsey House—and of the Mores, the Lawrences, and other departed Chelsea families. All this is set down for us by Mr. Davies, to whom Chelsea is familiar and beloved, being son to one who for nearly half a century has been incumbent of the old church.

Of the old church of Chelsea, a London beauty which few Londoners have turned out of their way to observe, nothing can be said better than in the words of Mr. Herbert P. Horne, Mr. Davies' fellow-worker, who has given a preface to his book. Whilst Putney, Fulham, Hammersmith and Chiswick have gone one by one to the church knackers Chelsea remains upon the river which it graces with its pleasant patchwork of historical architecture. In 1820 its doom compassed it about, but the site was a narrow one, and the new church of Chelsea, that grim pile of Georgian Gothic, rose in chilly respectability in another place. Old Chelsea church remains, as Mr. Horne points out to us, a church with its history upon it, its history of the fourteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. It has been the prey of no restoring architect of that accursed race which, seizing upon a lancet window or a zigzag moulding, declares a church 'Early English' or 'Norman,' and sends all work of other ages packing to the rubbish heap.

This church is rich in undisturbed monuments of the dead. The gentle More lies here, and his arms upon a pillar show the work done upon his chapel after the designs of Hans Holbein, his illustrious guest at Chelsea. Sir Arthur Gorges—'Alcyon he, the jollie shepheard swaine'—kneels upon a brass plate with his wife and ample progeny. That monu-

<sup>1</sup> *Chelsea Old Church*, by Randall Davies, F.S.A., with a preface by Herbert P. Horne. London: Duckworth & Co., 1904.



ment of Lord and Lady Dacre, admired of the young Burtons in Henry Kingsley's novel, is spick and span within its railings, the city of London having a careful eye for it. Richard Jervoise, third son of Richard Jervoise, alderman and mercer (for whose story and picture see the third volume of the *Ancestor*), is probably buried under the strange memorial of an Elizabethan triumphal arch decorated with his arms, Richard the elder having had a lease of the old manor house of Chelsea. An old tomb without inscription marks the grave of the Brays, lords of Chelsea manor. The Lady Jane Cheyne, a daughter of William, Duke of Newcastle, reclines easily upon her elbow, under a tall monument of marble, dressed and jewelled for the court of the Restoration. Mr. Davies has recovered from the Bridgewater MSS. at Walkden the whole story of the planning and the working of this memorial, and little as we may love the cold splendours of the Roman taste, we may admire the pains and cost whereby they were wrought at Rome and brought to Chelsea on the Thames.

This handsome volume, with its illustrations, its well edited parish register extracts, and carefully copied inscriptions, leads one to hope that as careful hands may soon be at work upon more of those parishes about London, which have, in too many cases, the useful Lysons for their only historian. The editors of such parish histories might be advised in many details by the example of Mr. Davies. Rarely have we examined a parish history which is so little disfigured by the sham archæology. When documents are cited we find abbreviated words reasonably extended to the avoiding of the jumbled and misunderstood contractions which vex printer and reader. The capital F is here, the 'ff,' beloved of the smatterer, being ignored. When dates before 1752 are cited the 'double date' is always accurately given. The illustrations illustrate the text, and are for the most part well reproduced, although we might have begged for a few more old landscapes of this waterside parish. The beautiful frontispiece of Chelsea Old Church in 1788 must be one of many more such pictures of a century which on its own assurance was a noisy age, but which gives us here the sudden impression of calm days a long while gone by.

## THE BUILDERS OF THE NAVY

### A GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF PETT

I am credibly informed that that Mystery of *Ship-Wrights* for some descents hath been preserved successively in Families, of whom the *Petts* about *Chatham* are of singular regard ; *Good success have they with their skill*, and carefully keep so precious a pearl, lest otherwise amongst many *Friends* some *Foes* attain to it (*FULLER's Worthies of England*, 1662).

#### I

PETER PETT of Harwich in Essex, shipwright (son of John Pett, son of Thomas Pett of Skipton, as is recited in the grant of arms to his son Peter). He made a will 6 March 1553-4, which was proved . . . [*Commissary Court of London, Essex and Herts division*]. He gave to his wife Elizabeth the household stuff, plate and implements which he had with her, a cow, 20*l.* in money, half the wood in his yard, his 'short somer gowne faced with satten,' and his 'trendyll bed.' He gave his son Peter Pett his dwelling-house and yard, with remainder to the heirs of his body, and with further remainder to the testator's daughter, Anne Chapman. He gave to Sir Richard Paynter, a priest, half a mark, and the like to Sir John Goslyn, another priest. He gave to his brother-in-law William Paynter, 20*s.* and his second gown furred with fox, and to his nephews, the sons of William and John Paynter, 2*s.* each. He gave to his son-in-law, John Chapman, 20*s.* and his best gown furred with fox, and to his daughter's children, Christian and Elizabeth Chapman, 40*s.* each. He gave to his sister, Elizabeth Kyngson, if alive, 20*s.* with remission of her debt, and to Robert Kyngsson's daughter, Joan Kynston [*sic*], 3*s.* 4*d.* He gave 6*s.* 8*d.* to Alice Roger, and 3*s.* 4*d.* to her daughter, Anne Roger. The residue he gave to his son, Peter Pett, his executor, making the said John Chapman his overseer. William Paynter was a witness to this will.

Peter Pett of Harwich left issue :—

- i. Peter Pett of Deptford, a master shipwright of the navy, of whom hereafter.
- ii. Anne Pett, wife of John Chapman, who was overseer of her father's will, by whom she had issue, Christian Chapman and Elizabeth Chapman, who are both named with her in that will.

## II

PETER PETT, of Deptford in Kent, one of the master shipwrights of the royal navy. The domestic series of the state papers show that he was master shipwright in the reign of Edward VI. In 1587 he joined with Matthew Baker, another shipwright, in bringing charges against Sir John Hawkins, the treasurer of the navy, of malpractices in connection with the repairs of the queen's ships, but the charges were not sustained. He had a grant of arms in 1583 of which only the docquet now remains at Heralds College. The shield was *gold a fesse gules between three roundels sable with a lion passant gold upon the fesse*. He died about 6 September, 1589. He made a will 2 September 1589, which was proved 10 September 1589 [P.C.C. 69 *Leicester*], by Elizabeth, the relict and executrix. In this will he describes himself as 'one of her majesties maister shipwrightes.' He gave to his wife Elizabeth 'all such bargaynes undertaken by me from her majestie accordinge to suche forme and order as is sett downe in the office of the admiralties, viz. one greate shipp called a crumpster fynished, twoe greate boates nere done and perfected, whereof certayne money is receyved,' the workmanship and finishing of these being at 'the travell and disposition' of the testator's son Joseph, 'who hath plattes and order for the same.' His wife was to have his dwelling-house for life, and he gave her his house in Norwiche [a scribe's error, no doubt, for Harwich], and the house at Deptford purchased of his son Richard Pett. To his son Joseph he gave land at Frathing in Essex. To his son Peter Pett the elder he gave the lease of his house at Chatham yard and his ground at Wapping. To his sons Phineas Pett, Noah Pett, and Peter Pett the younger he gave 100*l.* each, to be paid when they should come to twenty-four



years. To the three children of his son Richard Pett he gave 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each at marriage or twenty-four years. To the upbringing of Lydia, the child of his daughter Lydia, he gave 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To his daughters Rachel, Abigail, Elizabeth, and Mary Pett he gave 100 marks each at twenty-four or marriage. To his wife's unborn child he gave an equal portion with the rest. He gave small legacies to his cousin John Paynter, Mr. Rockery, William Hedger and his wife, Mr. Honingborne and Philip Ellis. To the widow dwelling in the almshouses which he had built at Harwich he gave 20*s.* To the children of his brothers, Thomas and Nicholas Thorne-ton, he gave 40*s.* each. He made his sons, Joseph Pett, Peter Pett the elder and Phineas Pett, his overseers. He gave the residue of his estate to his wife, making her his executrix. Litigation between the executrix on the one hand and Joseph Pett, Peter Pett, Richard Pett, and Lydia [blank] *alias* Pett followed, but the will was confirmed by sentence promul-gated 4 November 1589.

This Peter Pett was twice married, and had issue by both wives. By his first wife, whose name is unknown, he had issue :—

- i William Pett of Limehouse, in Middlesex, who died in his father's lifetime. He made a will [in 1587 ?] wherein he described himself as of Limehouse, 'one of her majesty's master shippwrightes.' He gave to his wife Elizabeth his houses and leases in Limehouse, with his yard and the stuff remaining therein. He gave to his two daughters, Elizabeth Pett and Lucy Pett, 200*l.* each at marriage or twenty-four years. To his three brothers and to his sister Lydia 20*l.* each. To his brother, Joseph Pett, his interest in a purchase at Blackwall. To his seven half-brothers and sisters [the children of his father's second marriage] he gave 5*l.* each. He gave a bay gelding to his brother, Richard Mercy or Marcy, who was probably a brother of his wife. He gave rings of forty shillings value to his brother John Marcy, his brother Pyke, his sister Marcy, his mother Elizabeth Pett, his uncle Girdler, his cousin John Paynter, his brother Peter's wife, and his brother Richard's wife. He gave to his father, Peter Pett, a ring of 4*l.* value, and the like, or a cup of the same value, to his father Marcy. He made

his father, Peter Pett, and his brothers, Richard Marcy and Joseph Pett, his overseers. To his wife Elizabeth he gave his lands in Chiselhurst, with his lease of Hawke's Wood there, and a wood in Essex called 'Jackherdes,' in Prittlewell. The witnesses to this will were Peter Pett the elder, Joseph Pett, and Robert Girdler, who was perhaps the 'uncle Girdler' named in the will. The will was proved 31 August 1587 [P.C.C. 48 *Spencer*] by the relict and executrix. By his wife Elizabeth [Marcy] William Pett had the two daughters named in his will, Elizabeth and Lucy Pett, of whom we know nothing more.

- ii. Joseph Pett, of Limehouse in Stepney, who was, like his father and elder brother, a master shipwright of the navy. He made a will 14 November 1605, wherein he released his brother Phineas Pett of all debts and accounts between them 'from the begynninge of the world untill this present day.' He recognized a debt of 32*l.* to his sister Mary Pett, which should be paid at his marriage or age of twenty-four years, and he gave her 8*l.* in addition thereto. Amongst the witnesses to his will were John and William Chapman. This will was proved 26 June 1606 [P.C.C. 46 *Stafford*] by Margaret the relict, power being reserved etc. to John Humphrey the elder, her father. Sentence in favour of the will had been pronounced the same day, following litigation between the relict and Richard Pett the brother.

Joseph Pett was first married to Margaret Curtis, whom he describes in his will as one of the daughters of William Curtis, late of Ipswich, deceased. Administration of her goods was granted to him 25 October 1594 [P.C.C.]. He had issue by her, an only daughter, Margaret, to whom he gave by his will 200*l.* and the houses in St. Matthew's, Ipswich, called the 'Turke,' and a house in St. Clement's, Ipswich, which houses he had in her mother's right. To this daughter Margaret he gave 'one bed covering of tapestrey and six great silver and guilt spoones,

that were given to her by her grandfather-in-lawe, John Chapman, and a goblet of silver parcell guilt that was her mother's, and two rings of gold, whereof one was her mother's and the other her grandmother Chapman's.<sup>1</sup> If the said Margaret died under eighteen years of age the legacy of 200*l.* was to go to her half brothers, William and Joseph Pett.

Joseph Pett married as his second wife Margaret Humfrey, whom he describes as daughter of John the elder of Ipswich, a clothier. She proved her husband's will, and went to live in Ipswich. Administration of her goods was granted 22 June 1612 [P.C.C.], to John Humfrey, her brother, she being described in the grant as of Ipswich, a widow. Joseph Pett had issue by her:—two sons, William and Joseph Pett. The elder son, William, was probably the William Pett who petitioned the lords of the admiralty 12 April 1631 [*Dom. State Papers*] for the mastership of the *Fortune* pink. His petition recites that he had two sons cast away in the *Six Whelp*.

iii. Peter Pett of Wapping, of whom hereafter.

iv. Richard Pett of London, gentleman. As Richard Pett of London, gentleman, by his deed 29 May 1593 [*Close roll 35 Eliza., part 5*], he sold to his brother Peter Pett of Wapping, his portion of a messuage, etc., in Deptford late of his father Peter Pett. He was a litigant in 1606 concerning the will of his brother Joseph. The heralds' visitation of Kent in 1619 describes him as 'unus valettorum regis.' The will of his brother William in 1587 speaks of him as married, and his father's will of 1589 gives a legacy to his three children.

i<sup>o</sup>. Lydia Pett, the only daughter of Peter Pett of Deptford, by his first wife, is named in her brother William's will of 1587. She was married before 1589 to a husband whose name is not yet ascertained, her father giving a legacy towards the bringing up of her daughter Lydia.



Peter Pett of Deptford married as his second wife Elizabeth Thornton, described in the pedigrees as daughter of George Thornton. Her brothers, Thomas Thornton and Nicholas Thornton, are named in Peter Pett's will of 1589 with their children. Another brother, called George Thornton, is described in the autobiography of her son Phineas Pett as an ancient and well-experienced ship captain. Noah Pett, brother of Phineas, sailed with this uncle to Ireland about March 1594, and was drowned in the river at Cork. The autobiography of Phineas Pett relates the miserable story of his mother's end. She matched herself with 'a most wicked husband,' one Thomas Nunn, a minister, after incumbent of Weston in Suffolk, not far from Bury St. Edmunds. At this place she died in the beginning of 1597, and was buried in the church. Her husband married again, and cruelly treated her three daughters, who were left in his hands. His barbarity came at last to murder, for in 1599 he beat the girl Abigail Pett so cruelly with the tongs and a firebrand that she died three days after. This wicked priest was convicted at Bury Assizes, but, to the scandal of justice, was allowed to sue out a pardon, which was granted him 28 May 1599 with restoration to the regularity which he had forfeited [*Dom. State Papers*] His parish did not enjoy his ministrations much longer, for his will, dated 21 July 1599, was proved 7 September 1599 (P.C.C. 70 *Kidd*) by his second wife Anne and his brother Walter Nunn. He gave his 'clothe gowne lyned with budge' to his own father, Mr. Thomas Nunn, and his 'gowne faced with dammaske' to his wife's father, Mr. Nuce. He also named his sister Ezard, his brother Jolly, and his uncle Robert Nunn of Wortham and his two daughters. The murderer also directed that a new English Bible price 6s. 8d. should be bought for each of his own brothers and sisters, but the names of his surviving stepchildren are not amongst those of his legatees.

By his second wife, Elizabeth Thornton, Peter Pett of Deptford had issue:—

v. Phineas Pett of Chatham, of whom hereafter.

vi. Noah Pett. The autobiography of his brother Phineas relates that, having no help from his unkind brother, Joseph the master-shipwright, Noah Pett sailed to

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Ireland with his mother's brother, George Thornton, a sea-captain, under whom he was master of the royal ship *Popinjay*. He was drowned about the beginning of Lent in March 1594. His body was buried in the church of Cork.

- vii. Peter Pett, called Peter Pett the younger, being, after the confusing fashion of his day, one of two sons with the same Christian name. After his mother's death he was for a time in the cruel hands of his stepfather, Thomas Nunn, who put him out to a gentleman's house in Suffolk as teacher to the children. At the death of Thomas Nunn in 1599 he came to his good brother Phineas at Limehouse, and was prenticed by him in London. Soon afterwards he left his master for an idle life which he was not long to lead, for on 21 June 1600 he died of small-pox at the *Dolphin* in Water Lane. On 23 June he was buried in the churchyard of All-hallows, Barking.
- ii<sup>d</sup>. and iii<sup>d</sup>. Jane and Susanna Pett, children of Peter and Elizabeth Pett, were both buried 21 August 1567 at Deptford.
- iv<sup>d</sup>. Rachel Pett, who was married about two months after her father's death in 1589, according to the relation of her brother Phineas, to Mr. Newman, minister of Canewdon in Essex. He was a man 'of dissolute life,' and she died not long after her marriage, having had by him two children, who died.
- v<sup>d</sup>. Abigail Pett, who was beaten by her stepfather in 1599 with the tongs and a firebrand, dying three days afterwards.
- vi<sup>d</sup>. Elizabeth Pett, who came to her brother Phineas in 1599 and was put out as a servant with 'a gentleman of good fashion' in London. Soon afterwards she came back to her brother at Limehouse and died of what was reckoned to be the plague, but proved to be small-pox.
- vii<sup>d</sup>. Mary Pett, who came to Limehouse with her brother Peter and sister Elizabeth in 1599. She sickened

of the small-pox, of which Elizabeth died, but would seem to have recovered.

## III

PHINEAS PETT, of Chatham, master shipwright of the royal navy, fifth son of Peter Pett of Deptford, being the eldest son of his second marriage, was born in his father's dwelling-house in Deptford on the morning of All Saints' Day 1 November 1570, and was christened in the parish church on 8 November. These and other details of his life we have on the authority of his own history of his life and fortunes, of which a copy is preserved amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum [Harl. MS. 6279].

His education began at a free school in Rochester, from which he went to a private school at Greenwich to be prepared for Cambridge. In 1586 he entered Emmanuel College, but his father's death in 1589 forced him to leave the university without a degree and to seek a handicraft. The young Phineas who had lately enjoyed his father's ample allowance of £20 yearly besides books and apparel was forced to serve as a covenant servant to Mr. Richard Chapman of Deptford, one of the queen's master shipwrights whom old Peter Pett had bred up, for a bare 46s. 8d. a year, out of which tools and clothing must be found.

The rise of his half-brother Joseph Pett to be one of the master shipwrights brought Phineas no advancement, and he was compelled when out of his place to ship himself on 'a desperate voyage,' not greatly caring what became of him. Peter Pett, another half-brother, had some compassion where Joseph had none, and at Peter's house in Wapping Phineas had meat and drink until his ship sailed. In the gallion *Constance* of London the adventurer spent twenty miserable months, ragged and hungry. He saw the Levant and the coasts of Barbary and Spain, and after an unlucky voyage left his ship at Cork to visit his uncle George Thornton, with whom his brother Noah was master in the *Popinjay*.

Kind brother Peter received him again at Wapping, and the niggard Joseph parted with forty shillings to clothe this ragged man home from sea. Phineas, who loved fine clothes, bought himself 'mean attire' in Burthen Street in London



and found work in Woolwich dock, where the *Defiance* was being sheathed for Drake's voyage. By God's blessing Master Phineas was soon able to cast his mean duds, and he relates that before Easter of 1595 he had appareled himself 'in very good fashion, always endeavouring to keep company with men of good rank, far better than myself.' The same year saw him, although still an ordinary workman, with a boy to work under him, 'the first servant that I ever kept.'

From this point the prosperity of Phineas grew steadily. He worked at home on winter nights at cyphering and drawing and the theory of his profession. In 1600 came his first place in the Chatham yard, a small one but enough to persuade the cautious Joseph that the time had come for Phineas and himself to live together 'as loving brethren.' He was made assistant master shipwright in March of 1601, and in January 1603 he was chosen by his good patron the Lord High Admiral to build for the young Prince Henry a little ship wherewith 'to acquaint his grace with shipping.' This little model, on the lines of the *Ark Royal*, was wrought upon day and night, and launched on 6 March 'with a noise of trumpets, drums and such like ceremonies at such time used.' Pett himself sailed her as captain with a crew of boatswains of the navy and other choice men. At the Tower they took in ordnance and powder, and passing Whitehall saluted the Court with small shot and great ordnance. At Paul's Wharf on 22 March the young prince came on board with a noble company and christened the ship the *Disdain* 'with a great bowl of wine.' Afterwards in the cabin Phineas Pett, whose apparel on this famous day was doubtless a radiant sight, was presented by his patron to the prince as 'a servant worth the acceptance of the greatest prince in the world.'

When Joseph Pett died in 1605 Phineas was given his place of master shipwright, and in this new position wrought so well that his majesty the noble King of Denmark was received with a fleet in being to the great honour of King James and admiration of all strangers. At this time the master shipwright had for his guest in his house his good friend Sir Oliver Cromwell, a knight with a little nephew and godson who was to make more noise in the world than the great ordnance of Chatham.

On the 25 April 1606, Phineas Pett was elected and sworn master of the company of shipwrights and kept a feast with

many friends and good store of venison before them at the *King's Head* in New Fish Street.

In 1609 a foul wind blew against this great shipwright's rising fortunes. He had made friends and enemies, and of the latter was the Earl of Northampton, who allowed himself to be made a tool by Baker and Bright, Pett's fellow shipwrights and old adversaries to his name and family. Charges of gross incompetence were pressed against him, and he was tried at Woolwich before a tribunal, to preside over which the British Solomon came in his coach. For many hours Phineas Pett knelt before majesty, 'baited by the great lord and his bandogs,' and Solomon spake of upper and lower futtocks, of midship bends and scantlings, delighting his court now and again with the judicial jest which causes reverent laughter.

In the end all went well with our master shipwright. He rose from his cramped knees, the multitude heaved up their hats with a loud shout, and Northampton slunk by the back way to his coach. For the rest of his life the history of old Captain Phineas Pett is the history of the navy. Now and again he sailed in the ships he built so skilfully. He carried the *Lady Elizabeth* and the *Palsgrave* to Flushing, he fought the pirates of Sallee. On King Charles' accession he was given a chain of gold of £104 value, and two 'blanks for baronets' were amongst his other rewards. He brought the young queen to Dover in 1625, and at Portsmouth in 1628 he saw Felton knife my lord duke of Buckingham.

In 1608-10 he built the *Prince Royal*, the largest ship of her day, and in 1632-33 the *Charles*. In 1637 he launched the still greater *Sovereign of the Seas*, one of the most splendid vessels that ever took the water. The *Trade's Increase* and the *Peppercorn* were great merchantmen of his planning. He was now on a height above the malice of his enemies, but without good watch kept they would have 'bored holes privily' in the *Trade's Increase* the night before his Majesty came to the launching, and 'a sore gust of rain, thunder and lightning' which came later made Phineas aware that old Matthew Baker and his like had called in dreadful help to their plots.

The son and grandson of shipbuilders, the craft was doubtless near to the nature of Phineas Pett, but we must remember that he was not bred to the yard, and his father's death kept him from inheriting the secrets of the craft. His rare success

is rather to be attributed to his keen industry and to the Cambridge training and mathematics, whereby he took up the chisel and square as a man with a trained and educated mind.

Of the manner of his death we know naught, but he was buried at Chatham 21 August 1647 as 'Phineas Pett, esquire and captain.' No will or administration act has been found.

He married three times. His first wife was Anne Nicholls, daughter of Richard Nicholls, of Highwood Hill in Hendon, Middlesex, 'a man of good repute and honest stock.' They were married at Stepney church on a Monday forenoon 15 May 1598. She died suddenly 14 February 1623, and was buried 16 February in Chatham church. The second wife of Phineas Pitt was Susan Eaglefield, daughter of Christopher Eaglefield, of Stratford-le-bow, who names her in his will dated 12 May 1592. She was married at Chatham 20 January 1594 to Robert Yardley of Chatham, gent., of a Warwickshire family, by whom she had issue two sons and three daughters, of whom the youngest daughter, Katherine Yardley, married John Pett, son of Phineas Pett by his first wife. Robert Yardley was buried 26 December 1622 at Chatham. His widow was married to Phineas Pett at St. Margaret's 16 July 1627. On 21 July 1636 she was brought sick from Woolwich to Chatham. She died 24 July 1636, and was buried 26 July at Chatham. On 7 January 1634 her husband married at Chatham his third wife, Mildred Byland. On 8 September 1638, being then with child (a child which does not seem to have been born), she sickened of a fever, and dying on 19 September, she was buried at Chatham 20 September 1638.

Phineas Pett had issue by his first wife only. By her he had eleven children, eight sons and three daughters:—

- i. John Pett, son and heir, born 23 March 1604. In the summer of 1627 he was captain of a merchant ship and served under Sir Sackville Trevor in the taking of a French ship called the *St. Esprit*. On 4 September 1628 he left England as captain of the royal ship the *Six Whelp*, and was cast away at the isle of Rhé on his return from Rochelle. He had married at Chatham, 14 July 1625, Katherine Yardley, third and youngest daughter of Robert Yardley of Chatham, gent., by Susan Eaglefield his wife, which



Susan afterwards married John's father, Phineas Pett, as his second wife. By her he had a posthumous son :—

Phineas Pett, christened at Chatham 23 November 1628. He had a grant 'March 166 $\frac{9}{11}$ , of the office of master shipwright of Chatham dockyard. [*Docquet book*, p. 98] following his petition, in which he recites the services of his father, Captain John Pett, and of his grandfather, 'old Captain Phineas Pett,' under whom he was brought up. His marriage and his issue will be given hereafter in detail.

- ii. Henry Pett, who was born 18 March 1603, and christened 27 March at Chatham. He died 22 September 1613, and was buried 28 September 1613 at Chatham.
- iii. Richard Pett, who was born (according to his father's account) on 21 *July* 1606. This is probably an error for 21 June, as he was christened 29 June 1606 at Chatham. He worked with his father at the ship-building trade, and, dying 27 November 1629, was buried the next day in the chancel of Woolwich church.
- iv. Joseph Pett, born 27 April 1608, of whom hereafter.
- v. Peter Pett, of Chatham, born 6 August 1610, of whom hereafter.
- vi. Phineas Pett, born 9 October 1614. He died 28 October, 1617, and was buried 10 December at Chatham.
- vii. Phineas Pett of Chatham, christened there 24 January 161 $\frac{8}{9}$ , of whom hereafter.
- viii. Christopher Pett, eleventh and youngest child, born 14 May, 1620, and christened 25 May at Chatham. He was an assistant master shipwright at Woolwich. As a master shipwright of the navy he attended the Protector's funeral in November 1658. At the Restoration he was re-appointed to his office of

master. Addressing the commissioners of the navy 16 September 1667 he complains that his salary is so mean that, even if paid, it would scarce find his family in meat and drink. He has served twenty years at Woolwich, had but small fortune with his wife, and having a wife and children to maintain, is in debt [*Dom. State Papers*]. He built many ships for the royal navy and his friend Samuel Pepys relates that the king commanded him to alter his moulds upon no man's advice for, says he, 'God hath put him in the right assuredly, for no art of his own could ever have done it, for it seems he cannot give a good account of what he do.' He made a will 6 March 1667 as 'his majesties master shipwright of Deptford and Woolwich.' He gave to his wife Anne all his estate for life, asking her to distribute the same at her discretion amongst his children. She proved the will as executrix 4 April 1668 [P.C.C. 51 *Hene*]. He died Sunday before 26 March 1668, as appears by his widow's letter of that date to Samuel Pepys the diarist [*Dom. State Papers*]. She complains that she is left in a mean condition with four children and 300*l.* of debt, her husband having 'always attended to his Majesty's service and never looked after his own concerns.' She herself survived until 1679, and was buried 26 December of that year at Woolwich. She made a will 21 November 1679, being then a widow at Woolwich, giving legacies to her three surviving children. Of this will her brother, Philip Brace, gent., and her son, Peter Pett, were named as executors, and Margaret and Deborah Brace were witnesses. We may therefore guess that her own name was Brace. These executors proved the will 7 January 1678 [P.C.C. 9 *Bath*].

Christopher and Anne Pett had issue a son and three daughters :—

1. Peter Pett, who was an executor of his mother's will in 1678.
2. Anne Pett, who is named in her father's will

- in 166 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and is unnamed in that of her mother in 1679, at which date she was probably dead. She may have been the Anne Pett who was married 20 April 1674 at Greenwich to Daniel Farrer of Woolwich.
3. Mary Pett, who was married 8 August 1676 at Greenwich to William Kethridge [*sic*]. Her mother names her as wife of William Kildridge in 1679, and gives a legacy to Alexander Kildridge their son.
  4. Martha Pett, who was unmarried in 1679. Her mother gave a necklace of pearls between her and her sister Mary.
- i<sup>p</sup>. Anne Pett, born 15 October 1612, and christened 26 October at Chatham. She was probably wife of William Ackworth, storekeeper of Woolwich. 'He knows himself and I know him to be a very knave,' records Pepys, who describes Ackworth's wife as a very proper, lovely woman. When her brother, Peter Pett, was committed to the Tower in 1667 his sister, Mrs. Ackworth, had a warrant to see him, which warrant wrongly described her as Mrs. *Pett* [*Dom. State Papers*].
- ii<sup>p</sup>. Martha Pett, born 15 April 1617 and christened 22 April at Chatham. She was married 25 April 1637 at Chatham to John Odierne, her father's servant, one of a Kentish family of that name.
- iii<sup>p</sup>. Mary Pett, born 15 April 1617, and christened 22 April 1617 at Chatham, where she was buried 17 November 1617.

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### III

PETER PETT of Wapping (third son of Peter Pett of Deptford, and grandson of Peter Pett of Harwich). He followed the family calling of a shipwright, and was living at Wapping in 1592, when he gave his half-brother Phineas, then in great straits, meat and lodging with him until his ship sailed. He was dead before 2 March 163 $\frac{2}{3}$ , when his widow Elizabeth petitioned the lords of the admiralty that she might have



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the law against Captain Phineas Pett, his half-brother. This Elizabeth was probably a second wife, for an administration of the goods of Richard Tusam of Deptford was granted 9 January 1584 [P.C.C.] to Anne Pett, *alias* Tusam, wife of Peter Pett of Deptford, during the minority of Henry Tusam.

Peter Pett had issue several children :—

- i. Peter Pett of Deptford, esquire, born about 1592, of whom presently.
- ii. William Pett, clerk in holy orders. He made a will 25 April 1651, which was proved 31 December 1651 [P.C.C. 246 *Grey*] by Anne, the relict and executrix. He described himself therein as of Wilsburrough in Kent, where he desired to be buried. Admon. d.b.n. was granted 18 July 1666 by Toby Garbrand, uncle and guardian to Peter Pett the son (a minor). He was twice married. His second wife, Anne (Garbrand), made a will 10 September 1652, with a nuncupative codicil of 2 January 1654, which was proved 7 March 1654 [P.C.C. 342 *Aylett*] by her friend Mr. Herne Thurston of Rochester, the executor. She desired to be buried by her late husband in the parish of Cuxton. She speaks of her husband's five children, naming William, Beatrix, and Peter as her own children. She gives legacies to her aunt and uncle Richard, her uncle Nicholas, and her brother Tobiah Garbrand. William Pett had issue five children. By his first wife :—

1<sup>o</sup>. Mary Pett, who at the date of her father's will of 1651 was wife of John Merricke, mariner. They are both legatees under the will of her stepmother, Anne Pett, in 1652. Her father's will speaks of her as sister to Anne Pett, and names their aunt Trelawne. She and her sister are both named in the will of their uncle, Peter Pett, about 1652. Her half-brother, William Pett, in his will of 16 June 1692, speaks of her as wife of John Bettenham.

2<sup>o</sup>. Anne Pett, who was unmarried in 1652, when she was a legatee of her stepmother, Anne Pett.

## THE ANCESTOR

By his second wife, Anne (Garbrand), William Pett had issue :—

- 1<sup>s</sup>. William Pett, a citizen and apothecary, living in the parish of Allhallows, Lombard Street. Born 1643 being aged twenty - three in the allegation for marriage licence. His will, dated 16 June 1692, was proved 2 December 1692 [P.C.C. 230, *Fane*] by Richard Hoare and Richard Edmondson, the executors. He recites his settlement made by an indenture of 23 April 1669, after his marriage with Elizabeth his wife, whereby and by fine and recovery he had settled his messuages and lands called Hewett House and lands in Willesborough and Ashford in Kent. He desired to be buried at Cuxton in Kent, and made his cousin, Peter Pett, esquire [afterwards knight], his overseer. He married, at Allhallows, Barking, 20 April 1669, Elizabeth Marriot daughter of Robert Marriott of Mortlake, clerk, who in the allegation for marriage licence dated 1669 [V.G.] is aged twenty-one. William Pett and Elizabeth his wife had issue (i) Marriott Pett, whose grandfather, Robert Marriott, gave him a legacy of 1,000*l.*, as is related in his father's will of 1692. He married at St. Helen's, Bishopsgate Street, 19 February 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Jane, eldest daughter of Francis Jessop, of Bromehall in Yorkshire, which Jane died before him. He made a will 16 November 1706 as of Maidstone, gentleman, and admon. with the will was granted 22 December 1722 [P.C.C. 243 *Marlborough*] to William Pett, the son, the two executors, William Jessop of Bromehall and William Finch of Maidstone, apothecary, having renounced. He named his uncle, Mr. James Marriott, of Hampton Court, and Anne his wife. Marriott Pett and Jane his wife had issue William Pett, Elizabeth and Jane, who are all named in his will. (ii) Elizabeth Pett, who married Fran-

cis Gell of St. George's, Botolph Lane, merchant, in 1691. Allegation for marriage licence dated 15 December 1691 [V.G.], she being aged twenty and he thirty. Articles of settlement before marriage dated 17 December 1691. Francis Bell, esquire, is named in the will of his brother-in-law, Marriott Pett, in 1706.

- 2<sup>a</sup>. Peter Pett, who was probably the youngest child of this marriage. He made a will 1 April 1680 as a citizen and mercer of London. Therein he names his wife, Jane Pett, his kinswoman, Elizabeth Codd, daughter of St. Leger Codd, his sister Mary Bettenham, and his nephew and niece, Marriott and Elizabeth Pett. His residuary estate he gave to his brother William Pett, who proved the will 9 April, 1680 [P.C.C 50, *Bates*].
- 3<sup>a</sup>. Beatrix Pett, the youngest daughter. She married one . . . Codd, of the Kentish family of that name. Her brother William Pett, in his will of 1692, speaks of her as a widow deceased, and names her children James Codd, and Beatrix wife of Robert Thornton.
- i<sup>a</sup>. Elizabeth Pett, daughter of Peter Pett of St. Mary's, Whitechapel, shipwright (who was probably identical with Peter Pett of Wapping), married Thomas Barwicke, shipwright. Allegation for marriage licence 2 June 1610 [*Bp. of Lond.*].
- ii<sup>a</sup>. Anne Pett. Peter Pett of Deptford, in his will made about 1652, named his sister, Anne, to whom he was bound to pay 15*l.* yearly.
- iii<sup>a</sup>. Mary Pett, who in the pedigrees of the family of Johnson of Aldborough (Visitation of London, 1663), is said to have married Francis Johnson of Aldborough in Suffolk (1601-36). Her grandson, William Johnson, married Agneta daughter of Hartgill Baron, and sister to Philippa, Baron, wife of Phineas Pett.



## IV

PETER PETT of Deptford, esquire (eldest son of Peter Pett of Wapping, grandson of Peter Pett of Deptford, and great-grandson of Peter Pett of Harwich), was a chief contractor of the royal navy. He was born about 1592, as appears by his monument at Deptford, which states that he died 31 July 1652 aged sixty. He made a will (undated) which was proved 18 August 1652 [P.C.C. 223 *Pett*] by Elizabeth, his relict and executrix. Administration d.b.n. was granted 15 April 1676 to Peter Pett the son, the executrix being then dead. He married at St. Botolph, Aldgate, 23 July 1623, Elizabeth Johnson, daughter of Henry Johnson, of Aldborough, co. Suffolk, gent. They had issue :—

- i. Sir Peter Pett, an author and lawyer, who was christened at Deptford 31 October 1630 as son of Peter and Elizabeth Pett. He was educated at St. Paul's school. Admitted pensioner of Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, 28 June 1645, where he took a degree of B.A. 7 March 1647. He migrated to Pembroke College, Oxford, 1647, and was elected a Fellow of All Souls in 1648. A bachelor of civil law 14 January 1649, he was admitted to Gray's Inn 12 February 1657. He was knighted at the Restoration by the Duke of Ormond, and was M.P. for Askeaton in the Irish Parliament 1661–66. A barrister-at-law of the Middle Temple 1664. He was one of the original Fellows of the Royal Society in 1663. He was knighted and appointed Advocate-General for Ireland. He made a will 22 July 1685 as 'Sir Peter Pett, knight, his majestie's Advocate-Generall for Ireland,' giving his brother, Sir Phineas Pett, knight, one of the commissioners of the navy, all his lands. He gave to his friend George, Marquess of Halifax, Lord President of the Privy Council, all his MS. books save one endorsed *Liber forestarum*, which he gave to Sir James Hayes, who married the Viscountess Falkland. But his most interesting legacy was certainly 'an agate stone ovall with an antique figure cutt thereupon, which was given me by the late Countess of Nottingham, and which was given by the Spanish Admirall in the yeare 1588, then

prisoner to the English Admirall, afterwards Earl of Nottingham.' This famous jewel he gave to no less a person than Mr. Samuel Pepys, whose diary, alas, does not exist for this period to tell us how mightily he was pleased by the gift. Administration of his goods was granted 6 June 1699 [P.C.C. 100 *Pett*] to Elizabeth Pett, spinster, niece by the brother to the testator, who had lived in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. In the church of St. Martin's he was buried 19 April 1699. He died unmarried.

- ii. Sir Phineas Pett, knight, christened 29 April 1635 at Deptford, of whom hereafter.
- iii. John Pett, christened 2 November 1636 at Deptford, and buried there 9 December 1636.
- iv. William Pett, to whom his father gave by will his lands and tenements in Wapping.
- i<sup>a</sup>. Elizabeth Pett, christened 20 March 1634 at Deptford. She married Robert Moulton, captain of a man-o'-war, and is named with him in her father's will.
- ii<sup>a</sup>. Phebe Pett, named in her father's will. She married (i) at Stepney, 20 October 1659, Stephen North, of Shadwell, a sea captain. Le Neve says that she married (ii) a sea captain named Mason.
- iii<sup>a</sup>. Mary Pett, named in her father's will, is said by Le Neve to have married one How of Deptford.

## V

SIR PHINEAS PETT of Chatham, knight, was christened 29 April 1635, at Deptford, the second son of Peter of Deptford and grandson of Peter of Wapping. His father gave him by will, after his mother's death, a Bridgehouse lease of lands and tenements in Deptford. He was commissioner of the navy and made a short will 11 November 1694, leaving all to his wife Dame Margaret, who proved the will 13 December 1694 [P.C.C. 253 *Box*]. He was then of Frindsbury in Kent. He married at least four times. His first wife is said by Peter Le Neve, in his pedigree of the Petts [Harl. MS. 5801-2], to have been a daughter of one Hedersey. His second wife was

Anne Bettenham, of Canterbury, whom he married 1 July 1664 at St. Margaret's by Rochester. She was buried at Chatham 13 April 1667. His third was Elizabeth Coulson, daughter of William Coulson of Greenwich, and co-heir of her brother Thomas Coulson, M.P. for Totness, a<sup>d</sup>director of the H.E.I.C. This Elizabeth was first married to John Tarleton, citizen and haberdasher of London, who lived in St. Mary Magdalene's, Fish Street, where the banns were published 24 October, 31 October, and 7 November 1658, she being then of Allhallows the less in Thames Street, spinster. By him she had issue. After her death Phineas Pett married a fourth wife, Margaret Lovell, sister of Thomas and Anthony Lovell. She is said by Le Neve to have been first married to Arthur Brooker, of Rochester, and to have remarried to *Wyllen*, rector of Boxley. This was John Wyvell, prebendary of Rochester, who was presented to Boxley in 1690 and died in 1704. He must have been her third husband, and was himself a widower, having married 12 July 1694 at Boxley, Christian Charlton of that place, who was buried there 29 April 1698, leaving a daughter, Christian Wyvell (christened 3 March 169 $\frac{5}{8}$  at Boxley), named in the will of Dame Margaret her stepmother. Dame Margaret made a will 2 February 171 $\frac{1}{2}$  as 'Dame Margaret *Pett*<sup>1</sup> of Boxley.' She gave her farm or parsonage of Hoo to her kinsman Thomas Rogers, gent., whom she made her executor, with Frances Nash, widow, her niece. She also names her daughter-in-law (step-daughter) Elizabeth Pett, Mrs. Christian Wyvell (her third husband's daughter), Mrs. Frances and Mrs. Elizabeth Gillman, and her nieces Elizabeth Lovell, daughter of her brother Thomas Lovell, and Margaret Lovell, daughter of her brother Anthony Lovell. This will was proved 22 May 1712 and 23 February 171 $\frac{3}{8}$  [P.C.C. 98 *Barnes*] by the executors.

Sir Phineas Pett had issue by his first wife (according to Le Neve) Phineas Pett and one daughter, and by his third wife Peter, who died young. This is evidently only partly true. He would seem to have had by his first wife :—

i. Phineas, of whom hereafter.

<sup>1</sup> In this keeping of the surname, as well as the title acquired by her most important marriage, she followed a frequent practice of her period.



By his third wife, Elizabeth Coulson, he had :—

- ii. Peter Pett, christened at Chatham 19 July 1669, and buried there 30 December 1672.
- i<sup>d</sup>. Elizabeth Pett, who was admor. of the goods of her uncle, Sir Peter Pett, in 1699. She was christened at Chatham 13 December 1670. She died unmarried, making a will 18 September 1720 as 'Elizabeth Pett of Carshalton in the county of Surrey.' She gave legacies to many of her Coulson and Fellowes kinsfolk, through whom she was connected with the great Sir Isaac Newton. She gave her cousin Peter Pett, the elder, 20*l*, and to her cousin, Margaret Pett, 1,000*l*. She also gave legacies to her three cousins Phineas Pett, Peter Pett, and Elizabeth Pett, who were minors and apparently brothers and sister. The residue of her estate she gave to her sister, Mrs. Anne Tarleton (her mother's daughter), and made her cousin, Coulson Fellowes, her executor, who proved the will 9 November 1720 [P.C.C. 238 *Shaller*].

## VI

PHINEAS PETT, son of Sir Phineas Pett, knight, by his first wife, according to Le Neve's pedigree of his father, was dead before the date of his father's will in 1694. He was probably the Phineas Pett of Chatham, shipwright and bachelor, who married Sarah Harden or Harding of Ratcliffe, spinster, the allegation for their marriage licence being dated 19 October 1681 [*Bp. of Lond.*], he being aged twenty-three and she twenty-seven, Robert Harding attesting. He was therefore born about 1658, and his father married for the second time in 1664. Admon. of his goods was granted 4 March 168<sup>9</sup>. [*Cons. Rochester*], he being late of Chatham, to William Yardley, the principal creditor. His widow died c. 1693 at Chatham, when admon. of her goods was granted 14 November 1693 [*Cons. Rochester*] to the same William Yardley, guardian to Margaret and Peter Pett, the children. We have thus an explanation of the legacies to kinsfolk of her own name given by Elizabeth Pett, of Carshalton (daughter of Sir Phineas by his third wife) in her will of 1720. Phineas Pett of Chatham left issue :—

- i. Peter Pett, of whom hereafter.
- ii. Margaret Pett, to whom Elizabeth Pett, her aunt by the half blood, gave a legacy of 1,000*l*.

## VII

PETER PETT, only son of the above Phineas Pett and Sarah Harding, was a minor in 1693. Le Neve describes him as living in 1703, and then bound to the master of a ship. He was probably the father of the children Peter Pett, Phineas Pett, and Elizabeth Pett, to whom Elizabeth Pett of Carshalton gave legacies in 1720. Peter Pett, gent., whose identity with him may also be assumed, was married at Gillingham 2 January 170<sup>6</sup>/<sub>7</sub> to Elizabeth Cole, spinster. Admon. of the goods of Peter Pett of Deptford in Kent, who died in the royal service on board the *Loyal Ellen* beyond sea or on the high seas, was granted 14 August 1722 [P.C.C.] to Elizabeth the relict. This Elizabeth made a will 26 March 1729, which was proved 1 April 1729 [P.C.C. 114 *Abbot*] by Catherine Cole, spinster, the sister and executrix, to whom the testatrix gave her things in the hands of Mr. Roch of Rotherhith. Peter Pett and Elizabeth Cole had issue (the order of the children's birth being unknown) :—

- i. Samuel Pett, residuary legatee in his mother's will.
- ii. Peter Pett, to whom his mother gave a guinea for a ring.
- iii. Phineas Pett, who made a will 27 July 1726 at Mocha, aboard the *Princess Amelia*, giving all to his mother, with residue to his brother Samuel Pett. Elizabeth Pett, the mother, proved the will 26 July 1727 [P.C.C. 177 *Farrant*], power being reserved to Samuel the brother.
- iv. Elizabeth Pett, to whom her mother gave in her will a guinea for a ring.

## IV

PETER PETT, of Chatham, esquire (son of Phineas Pett of Chatham, grandson of Peter Pett of Deptford, and great-

grandson of Peter Pett of Harwich). He was born 6 August 1610, according to his father's autobiography. He was commissioner of the navy at Chatham from 1648 to 1667, when he was superseded, having been made a scapegoat for the disasters following the raid of the Dutch fleet into the Thames, and the disaster at Chatham.<sup>1</sup> He was committed to the Tower 17 June 1667 [*Gazette*], and Pepys, quaking for his own fate, saw him brought by the Lieutenant before the committee of the Council on 19 June 'in his old clothes, and looked most sillily.' His house and gardens were famous and their rarities were viewed both by Pepys and Evelyn, the former admitting that he was more affected by the commissioner's strong drink, which made his head ache. He made a will 13 April 1663, being then of Chatham, esquire. He was lord of the manors of Woodbridge Ufford and Kettleborough Ufford in Suffolk, of which he had made a settlement before his will. He gave to his two sons, in case they should both become shipwrights, 'all my modell and plotts of shippes,' but neither son seems to have followed the family calling. This will was proved 2 December 1672 [P.C.C. 153 *Eure*] by Peter Pett, the son and executor. He married three times. His first wife was Katharine Cole, daughter of Thomas Cole, of Woodbridge, whom he married at Woodbridge 8 September 1633. She was buried at Chatham 12 July 1651. He married (ii) Mary Smith, daughter of William Smith, of Greenwich, serjeant-at-arms to Charles I., by Alice, daughter of Geoffrey Duppa, of Greenwich. She was living in 1663, when she is named in her husband's will, in which he wills to her 'two necklaces of pearles conteyning two hundred seaventy and [ ] pearles, one dyamond ring, severall peeces of plate either given her or by me bought, one shelve of bookes, one faire great bible, one great rich cabinett, one French rich cabinett and lookeing glasse, one Turkey carpet, and all the pictures, shells and glasses now standing and being in her own clossett as she shall make choyce of.' Le Neve says that she died in 1664. The next year her husband married (iii)

<sup>1</sup> All our misfortunes upon PETT must fall  
His name alone sees fit to answer all.

\* \* \* \*

PETT, the sea-architect, in making ships,  
Was the first cause of all these naval slips.

MARVELL.



Elizabeth Pitt, daughter of George Pitt, of Harrow-on-the-hill, esquire. She had married (i) Sir Henry Hatton, of Mitcham in Surrey, knight. The allegation for the licence to marry with Peter Pett is dated 11 December 1665 [V.G.], she being then aged about forty.

Peter Pett had issue by his first wife six sons and four daughters :—

- i. Peter Pett, of St. Margaret's, Westminster, gentleman, to whom his father gave by will his free and copyhold lands in Alderton and Hollesley, co. Suffolk, after the death of Mary, his second wife, who had them for her jointure. He had also the inn called the *Crown* in Woodbridge, bought by his father of Mr. William Ackworth. He made a will 5 February 170<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>, and admon. with the will was granted 4 March 170<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>. [P.C.C. 94 *Lane*] to Elizabeth the relict (who is not named in it), George Williamson the nephew, who was named as executor, renouncing execution. He married (i) Alice Newman, daughter, according to Le Neve, of John Newman, rector of Wythiam, co. Sussex. She was buried 16 November 1669 at Chatham. Peter Pett and Alice his wife had issue :—
  1. A still-born son, buried 20 September 1659 at Chatham.
  2. Peter Pett, born 5 May and christened 7 May 1662 at Chatham, and buried there 14 July 1666.
  3. John Pett, christened 19 June 1666 at Chatham, who died young.
  - 1<sup>p</sup>. Elizabeth Pett, the only surviving child of this marriage, has a provision made for her in her father's will, she having been 'melancholy' for some years.
  - 2<sup>p</sup>. Mary Pett, buried 23 October 1668 at Chatham.
  - 3<sup>p</sup>. Catherine Pett, buried 21 October 1669 at Chatham.
- ii. Phineas Pett, clerk in holy orders, matriculated 23 July 1656 at Exeter College, Oxford. B.A. 28 February 16<sup>80</sup>/<sub>81</sub>. M.A. 1662. Vicar of Totnes 1669. Vicar of Paignton 1674 to his death. Admon. of his goods was granted 8 November

1684 [P.C.C.] to Sarah the relict. He married (i) Hester Rogers, daughter of Robert Rogers, of Wappenham, co. Northants, clerk. The allegation for the marriage licence is dated 13 August 1669 [*Fac. office*], he being aged twenty-nine and she twenty-six. He married (ii) Sarah Lethbridge. She made a will 30 September 1692. Admon. with the will was granted 1 June 1695 [P.C.C. 102 *Irby*] to Lewis Burnett, Christopher Lethbridge the brother, and Mary Saunders, guardians to the children. The will was afterwards proved 7 November 1701 by the two sons. She named her sisters, Mrs. Mary Saunders and Mrs. Hester Rooke, and her brother-in-law, Mr. Robert Burscough, of Totnes.

Phineas Pett and Sarah his wife had issue:—

1. Phineas Pett, who matriculated at Oxford 27 March 1699, aged eighteen. B.A. Exeter College 1702. M.A. 1705, from Oriel College. Vicar of Walberton in Sussex 1704. Rector of Ford 1715. Vicar of Yapton 1719.
2. John Pett, whom Le Neve describes as living at Exeter in 1703.
- iii. Thomas Pett, named in his father's will of 1663 as a minor. He died young.
- iv. Warwick Pett. He was living in 1668, being then in the service of the yard at Chatham, as appears by a letter to Samuel Pepys from his father 25 June 1668 [*Dom. State Papers*].
- v. Benjamin Pett, son of Peter Pett the commissioner, buried at Chatham 4 October 1661.
- vi. and vii. Richard and John Pett are named by Le Neve in 1703 as having died young.
- ip. Katherine Pett, who was married to Thomas Eastland, as appears by her father's will.
- ii<sup>p</sup>. Anne or Agnes Pett, who married at St. Leonard's, Eastcheap, 11 December 1660, Rowland Crisp, of Chatham, gent. (a younger son of Tobias Crisp, rector of Brinkworth in Wilts, third son of Ellis Crisp, who died Sheriff of London in 1625). His will, dated 27 September 1691, was proved 29 April

1692 [P.C.C. 63 *Fane*] by Anne. the relict and executrix. They had one son, Rowland Crisp. Anne Crisp is named in the will of her brother Peter in 1708 in remainder of his Woodbridge land.

iii<sup>p</sup>. Margaret Pett, aged under twenty years at the date of her father's will. She is said by Le Neve to have married Edmund Woodroffe, of the Exchequer, counsellor at law.

iv<sup>p</sup>. Avice Pett, who was buried 18 December 1656 at Chatham.

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#### IV

JOSEPH PETT of Chatham, who was probably the Joseph Pett, son of Phineas Pett, the first of that name, was born 27 April 1608, according to the relation of the said Phineas. He seems to have been a shipwright at Chatham. Admon. of his goods was granted 9 May 1653 [P.C.C.] to Elizabeth the relict. He was first married at Chatham 13 April 1626 to Bithia Gardiner, who was buried there 17 March 1637. His second wife, Elizabeth, was married to him within the year. He had issue by his first wife:—

- i. William Pett of Chatham, shipwright, who was christened at Chatham 9 December 1627. He made a will 21 February 1678, which was proved 3 July 1679 [P.C.C. 89 *King*] by Elizabeth, the relict and executrix. He gave his brother Mr. Samuel Pett, of the Navy Office, 'one guinny peice of gold' for a ring, and made his wife his residuary legatee. He married Elizabeth Houghton, who died 17 December 1711 in her seventy-fifth year [M.I.]. She married as her second husband Robert Lee of Chatham, gent., who was for eighteen years master shipwright there. He died 1 April 1698, in his sixty-sixth year, and was buried at Chatham under a monument with his arms—*gules a cross gold between four unicorns' heads razed gold* for LEE, parted with *sable three bars silver* for HOUGHTON. Her will, dated 1 May 1710, she being then of Sayes Court, in Deptford, a widow, was proved 1 October 1711 [P.C.C. 217 *Young*] by her son William Lee, esquire.



She named her brother-in-law, Mr. Michael Lee, and her young kinsman, William Houghton of Chatham. Robert Lee and his wife had issue, with three sons who died young,<sup>1</sup> a son, William Lee, who married Elizabeth Pett, daughter of the wife's brother-in-law, Samuel Pett.

- ii. Samuel Pett of Battersea, esquire, who was a brother, and probably a younger brother, of the above William Pett, being named in his will of 167<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>. He may have been a son by the second marriage. In May 1670 Cuthbert Curwen, purser of the *Henry*, petitioned the Navy Commissioners that Phineas Pett, brother of Samuel Pett, might act as his deputy at Chatham, whilst the petitioner was in London, the said Samuel having been lately appointed clerk to the surveyor of the navy [*Dom. State Papers*]. He made a will 19 October 1695 as 'one of the commissioners of his majestie's navy royall,' desiring to be buried by his late father in the vault in the parish church of Chatham. He named his mother, Elizabeth Pett, widow, his uncle, Benjamin Middleton, esquire, and his kinsman, Peter Pett, esquire, which last two he made his executors. He died before 1 February 169<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>, as appears by the deposition of one John Houlton. Admon. with the will annexed was granted 10 February 169<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub> [P.C.C. 27 *Pett*] to Elizabeth Pett, *alias* Lee, wife of William Lee, and Mary Pett, *alias* Houlton, wife of John Houlton, the daughters, the executors renouncing Admon. d.b.n. was granted 1 April 1737 to Henrietta Maria Otger, *alias* Pett, wife of Peter Otger, the daughter, the former administratrices being dead. Samuel Pett, of the Navy Office, was first married to Arbella or Arabella, daughter of . . . He married (ii) Mary Long of Battersea, a widow, the allegation for marriage licence being dated 9 June 1684 [V.G.], he being then aged about forty, and a

<sup>1</sup> These sons were Robert Lee the eldest son of this marriage, who died 25 April 1685, aged twenty-two years and nine months; Daniel Lee, who died 9 December 1680, aged thirteen years and four months, and Francis Lee, who died 7 December 1695, aged six years and six months.

widower. By his first wife he had issue a son and four daughters :—

1. Toby or Tobias Pett, christened 28 September 1675, and buried 9 October 1675 at All-hallows Barking.
  - 1<sup>d</sup>. Elizabeth Pett, who married William Lee, esquire, son of Robert Lee, of Chatham, by her aunt Elizabeth (Houghton), relict of William Pett of Chatham, her uncle. Allegation for marriage licence dated 17 April 1694 [V.G.], she being of Battersea, spinster, and he of Chatham. She is named with her husband in his mother's will of 1710, and both were dead in April 1737.
  - 2<sup>d</sup>. Rose Pett, christened 4 September 1677 at Allhallows, Barking. She was named in her father's will of 1695.
  - 3<sup>d</sup>. Mary Pett, who married 23 July 1696 at St. Olave's, Hart Street, John Houlton of Bromeham, co. Wilts, as a bachelor. Allegation for marriage licence dated 20 July 1696 [*Fac. office*], he being aged twenty-four and she seventeen. They were both dead in April 1737.
  - 4<sup>d</sup>. Henrietta Maria Pett, who married Peter Otger 11 February 169 $\frac{8}{8}$  at St. Alphege, London Wall. They were both living in April 1737.
  - 5<sup>d</sup>. Arabella Pett, the youngest daughter, christened 11 February 169 $\frac{8}{8}$  at Allhallows, Barking.
- iii Phineas Pett, who is named in the above petition of Christopher Curwen as being at Chatham in 1670, and a brother of Samuel Pett. He may have been a son of the second marriage. He was doubtless the Phineas Pett who petitions the Duke of York, June 1671, that he may succeed to a master shipwright's place [*Dom. State Papers*]. He states that he was bred under his grandfather, Captain Phineas Pett, and was five years in the Highlands

## THE BUILDERS OF THE NAVY 175

of Scotland procuring masts and fir timber. He was probably buried 2 October 1674, at Chatham. Admon. granted 27 November 1674 [*Cons. Rochester*] to Anne the relict. He may have been the Phineas Pett who married 26 March 1669, at Greenwich, Elizabeth Tacklhood.

- iv. Joseph Pett, christened at Chatham 4 April 1630. He was probably the Joseph Pett, 'a young man' buried at Chatham 19 November 1652, and the Joseph Pett of whose goods admon. was granted 2 September 1653 to Eleanor the relict.
- v. Christopher Pett, christened 18 June 1632, of whom we know nothing more.

By his second wife Elizabeth, Joseph Pett of Chatham had issue :—

- vi. Thomas Pett, christened 16 April 1649 at Chatham.
- i<sup>d</sup>. Rose Pett, christened 8 March 16<sup>39</sup>/<sub>40</sub> at Chatham, and buried there 26 November 1640.
- ii<sup>d</sup>. Margaret Pett, christened 19 December 1641 at Chatham.
- iii<sup>d</sup>. Elizabeth Pett, christened 5 August 1645 at Chatham.

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### IV

CAPTAIN PHINEAS PETT of Chatham (son of Phineas Pett of Chatham, grandson of Peter Pett of Deptford, and great-grandson of Peter Pett of Harwich), was christened 24 January 161<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub> at Chatham. When captain of the *Tiger* he took a French prize laden with brandy and wines, and making for home with her he met, on 1 or 2 May 1666, with a Dutch man-o'-war of forty guns. The Dutchman engaged with two or three broadsides, and sought to board the *Tiger*, guessing from the character of her prize that the crew would be drunk and helpless. The *Tiger*, however, was well defended, and the Dutchman at length fell off and ran for it. Five Englishmen were killed in this affair, and Captain Pett was the first to fall. This account is taken from the letters of Thomas Waltham and John Lanyon to the navy commissioners [*Dom. State Papers*]. He married at Chatham 10 April 1642 Frances Carre of Maidstone, who was probably of the family of Robert Carre, who was curate of Maidstone



1559-1620, his son William, who died in 1618, having been some time his assistant and parish clerk. She is said by Le Neve to have remarried one Roche of Ireland. Several petitions in her name are found amongst the Domestic State Papers. On 31 September 1667 Frances Pett, widow of Phineas Pett, who was slain in the *Tiger*, petitions for a gift of one of the old vessels late sunk at Woolwich. About the same time she addresses Lord Arlington, reciting that her children have lost a dear father, and one who whilst he lived had a large share of his sovereign's favour, which favour, she hopes, is not lost by his dying for his king.

Phineas Pett had issue by Frances his wife :—

- i. Phineas Pett, christened 3 May 1646 at Chatham.

Le Neve speaks of him as Judge Advocate under Sir John Holmes, and says that he died on the Soudyke yacht in Ireland. Admon. of his goods, he being late of Dublin in Ireland, was granted 14 December 1694 [P.C.C.] to Philippa Pett the relict. Admon. d.b.n. was granted 28 July 1698 to Anne Baron, spinster (sister to the said Philippa), the aunt and guardian to Samuel Pett, the son of the deceased. The name of his first wife is uncertain. He married as a widower at St. Matthew, Friday Street, 1 April 1687, Philippa 'Barnes.' Le Neve describes her as daughter of . . . Bacon, of Canterbury. She was really Philippa Baron, daughter of the cavalier plotter Hartgill Baron of Windsor, a royalist squire who was the first to kiss hands at Breda with the news of the restoration of monarchy. He was comptroller of Windsor Castle, and at one time secretary to Prince Rupert. Philippa Pett, the widow, probably followed her mother to Ireland and married as her second husband James Weekes of Dublin, gent., to whom admon. of her goods was granted 23 November 1702 [P.C.C.]. Phineas Pett had issue Samuel Pett, named in the grant of administration to Anne Baron in 1698. Le Neve says that he had two daughters by Philippa Baron, but gives no names or details.

- ii. Richard Pett, buried at Chatham 17 October 1656.
- iii. Richard Pett, buried at Chatham 16 June 1660.
- iv. Frances Pett, born 22 December 1649 at Chatham,

and living in 1663, when she is named in the herald's visitation of Kent.

ii<sup>d</sup>. Jane Pett, born 1 March 165 $\frac{1}{4}$  at Chatham, and buried there 9 October 1660.

iii<sup>d</sup>. Anne Pett, born 8 September 1653 at Chatham, and living in 1663, when she is named in the herald's visitation pedigree.

iv<sup>d</sup>. Martha Pett, buried 30 June 1655 at Chatham.

v<sup>d</sup>. Jane Pett, born 27 and christened 28 December 1664 at Greenwich.

## V

PHINEAS PETT, posthumous son of Captain John Pett, who was cast away on the return from Rochelle, son of Phineas Pett of Chatham, and grandson of Peter Pett II., was christened 23 November 1628 at Chatham. He had a grant March 166 $\frac{0}{7}$  of the office of master shipwright at Chatham dockyard, following his petition in which he recited his father's death at sea in the late king's service. He described himself as having been brought up to shipbuilding by his grandfather, 'old Captain Phineas Pett.' Great difficulty has been found in distinguishing him from others of his name, a difficulty which is increased by the reckless identifications of the editors and indexers of that series of Domestic State Papers to which we must look for details of the careers of the Petts. He was buried 2 March 167 $\frac{8}{8}$  at Woolwich. He made a will 18 January 167 $\frac{8}{8}$ , being then of Woolwich, naming his four daughters Hannah, Katherine, Elizabeth, and Mary, to whom he gave 35*l.* each. He gives all his residuary estate to his wife Elizabeth, 'considering the great losses and impoverishing my deare faithfull, most loving and most virtuous, my dearly beloved wife Elizabeth hath susteyned . . . leaving to her charity and wisdom without prejudice to herselfe, if things happen better than is expected, to cast an eye upon any of my relations that may fall in distress.' This will was proved 22 March 167 $\frac{8}{8}$  [P.C.C. 27 *Reeve*]. He was probably married three times. His first wife, Mary, was buried 20 October 1660 at Chatham. His second wife, Rabsey Caswell, was daughter of Richard Caswell, of St. Swithin's, London, a white baker, by Mary, daughter of Richard Slaynie

of Shropshire, gent. (married to Richard Caswell 9 February 161 $\frac{8}{9}$  at St. Michael's, Cornhill). Her marriage with Phineas Pett of Chatham is recorded in the herald's visitation of London in 1663. His third wife, Elizabeth, was probably Elizabeth Taylor of Charlton, who married Phineas Pett of Chatham 31 March 1668 at Greenwich.

Phineas Pett had issue by Mary his first wife :—

i<sup>o</sup>. Hannah Pett, born<sup>1</sup> 13 August 1649 at Chatham.

ii<sup>o</sup>. Mary Pett, born 19 September 1650 at Chatham.

iii<sup>o</sup>. Catherine Pett, born 22 January 165 $\frac{1}{2}$  at Chatham.

iv<sup>o</sup>. Elizabeth Pett, born 31 January 165 $\frac{2}{3}$  at Chatham.

v<sup>o</sup>. Mary Pett, born 7 April 1654 at Chatham.

vi<sup>o</sup>. Anne Pett, born 21 November 1655 at Chatham, and buried there 31 January 165 $\frac{8}{9}$ .

vii<sup>o</sup>. Anna Pett, born 29 October 1657 at Chatham, and buried there 7 March 16 $\frac{8}{10}$ .

Phineas Pett had issue by Rabsey Caswell, his second wife :—

i. James Pett, buried 8 February 166 $\frac{1}{2}$  at Chatham.

ii. Charles Pett, buried 6 April 1662 at Chatham.

viii<sup>o</sup>. Mary Pett, christened 30 May 1662 at Chatham, and buried there 10 June 1662.

By his third wife, Elizabeth Taylor, he had issue :—

iii. Peter Pett, christened 9 July 1669 at Chatham, and buried there 30 December 1672.

iv. (?) William Pett, 'son of Phineas Pett,' buried 28 July 1672 at Chatham.

ix. Elizabeth Pett, christened 13 December 1670 at Chatham.

H. FARNHAM BURKE.

OSWALD BARRON.

<sup>1</sup> From this date to the restoration births and not christenings are recorded in the parish register of Chatham.



## A PEDIGREE

or Genealogy of the family of y<sup>e</sup> Frekes for near 200 years

### FIRST BEGUN

by Ralph Freke of Hannington esq a gentleman of great integrity and learning and who living to his eighty-eighth year might be justly deemed a credible witness

### SECONDLY AUGMENTED

by y<sup>e</sup> industrious inquiryes of M<sup>r</sup> John Freke  
Rector of Ockford Fitzpaine in Dorset  
and sometimes a fellow of Wadham College in Oxon. and  
lastly reduced to this forme  
by William Freke of Hinton St. Maryes in y<sup>e</sup> County of Dorset  
Barrister of y<sup>e</sup> Mid. Temple  
July y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 1707

### THE AUTHORS GENERALL CENSURE OF HIS NAME AND FAMILY

The generall genius of this family (as he could ever see) has been sincere, good natur'd and friendly and if ever it has appear'd otherwise t'has been where crook'd thro abuses, so they have been generally frugall and judicious w<sup>th</sup> 2 qualityes have raysd many members of it at times unexpectedly to become rich, and that so y<sup>t</sup> in y<sup>t</sup> regard w<sup>th</sup> an impartiall eye he can scarce see any family to exceed it, their good nature has often made some of them thot [?] softly and their trust to judgm<sup>t</sup> is very apt to make y<sup>m</sup> sour as ag<sup>st</sup> impertinencyes especially in age, their turn to sincerity has kept them ever from court dependencyes and their judgm<sup>t</sup> of self-sufficiency has ever kept y<sup>m</sup> as surly ag<sup>st</sup> all other dependencyes as litle, and y<sup>t</sup> as well in themselves or others. Y<sup>e</sup> Upway family has shewn the genius good for souldiery and as for estates I have rarely known y<sup>t</sup> there has been less than 10 members in't at a time worth 200*l.* *p. an.* and upwards.

[This pedigree is edited from a MS. book of Freke genealogies now in the possession of Mr. W. A. Willes, of Astrop, to whom it came by descent. It will be completed in the next number of the *Ancestor*. O. B.]







# I. FREKE OF

FREKE It seems ori  
present divinity prot  
of that country being

Frank Freke now lying buried at  
Crewkern. Nota in 1558 he lent  
12*l.* per privy seale to Queen Mary  
to be suppos'd no meane sume when  
H. y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> left his daughters but 10,000*l.*  
apeice fortunes in those dayes

Robert Freke esq Anno 1532 and y<sup>e</sup> 34 of  
H y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> was chose by auditor Keynsey  
as y<sup>e</sup> hopefulllest boy represented him in  
y<sup>e</sup> schoole he hapned to be taught in to be  
his clarke, and in which place he succeeded  
so well that he is computed to have left  
an estate of one hundred thousand pounds  
behind him, he married Alice Swaine of  
Gunvile who lies buried at Shrot. Ap. 1577  
himself being buried there Octob. 1592.  
Note by y<sup>e</sup> assistance of this Robert Freke  
was rayed y<sup>e</sup> family of y<sup>e</sup> Stratfeildsea  
Pitts in y<sup>e</sup> person of S<sup>r</sup> William Pit and  
who married — Swaine sister to R.  
Freke's wife

John Freke of Shilling  
Ockford married to one  
Christiana — and  
who died in August  
1559 without issue,  
note this & y<sup>e</sup> follow-  
ing brother being both  
named John they used  
to call y<sup>e</sup> one John,  
and y<sup>e</sup> other Johnie  
for distinction

John Freke who  
farmed y<sup>e</sup> rectory of  
Shroton, and from  
whom y<sup>e</sup> Faringdon  
estate is descended  
to his heir male at  
this day he married  
Anne Lanning and  
died there y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> of  
May 1581

S<sup>r</sup> Thomas  
Freke of w<sup>m</sup>  
y<sup>e</sup> houses of  
Shroton,  
Upway,  
Hannington,  
& Hinton

Mary  
Freke

Frances  
Freke

—  
Robert  
Freke

Margaret  
Freke

—  
John Freke  
of whom y<sup>e</sup>  
house of  
Helton

Elizabeth  
Freke

—  
William  
Freke  
of whom y<sup>e</sup>  
Irish Frekes

Anne  
Freke

Robert Freke  
of whom y<sup>e</sup>  
houses of  
Faringdon,  
Wincanton,  
Gillingham  
—  
John Freke

William  
Freke

—  
Thomas  
Freke

Joane  
Freke

—  
James  
Freke

Richard  
Freke

—  
Margaret  
Freke

Fr

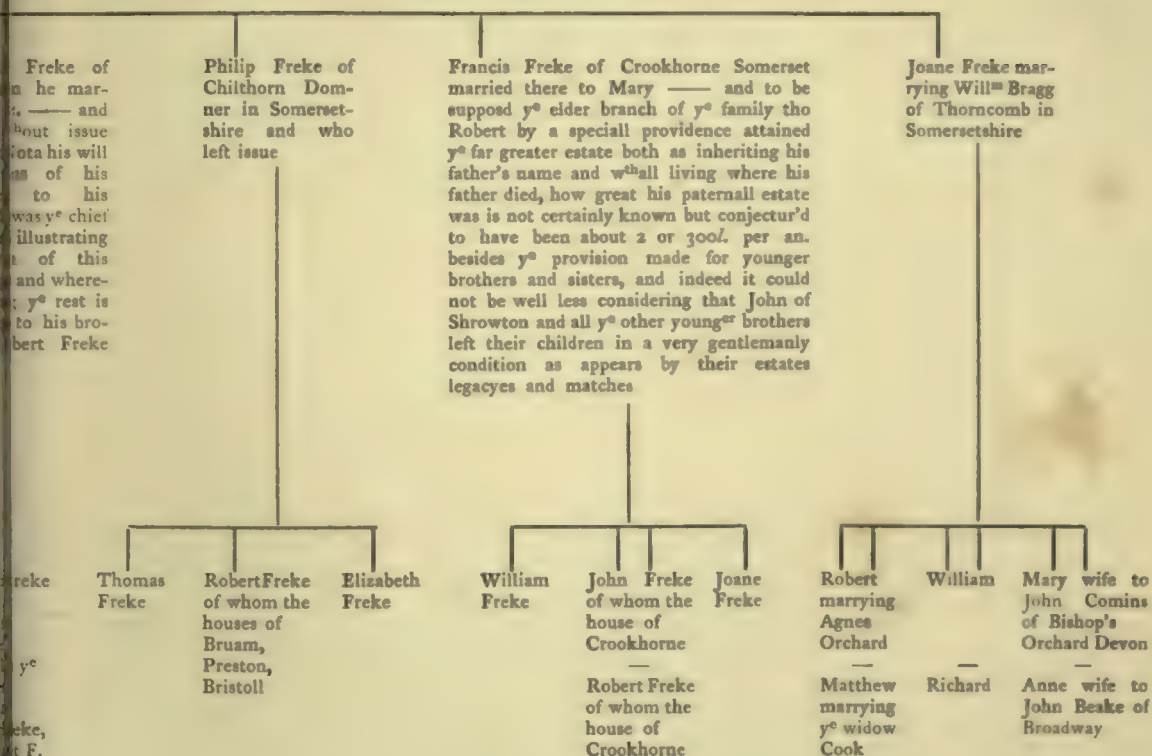
Ant  
Frel  
of  
hou  
Tut  
Fran  
Bre

# CREWKERNE

y<sup>e</sup> a Danish name y<sup>e</sup>  
 and several others  
 name at this instant

Thomas Freke vicar of Mountague  
 34 H. 8 his brother

About this time also liv'd  
 Edmund Freke Bishop  
 first of Rochester and  
 after of Norwich but  
 whether of this family ?



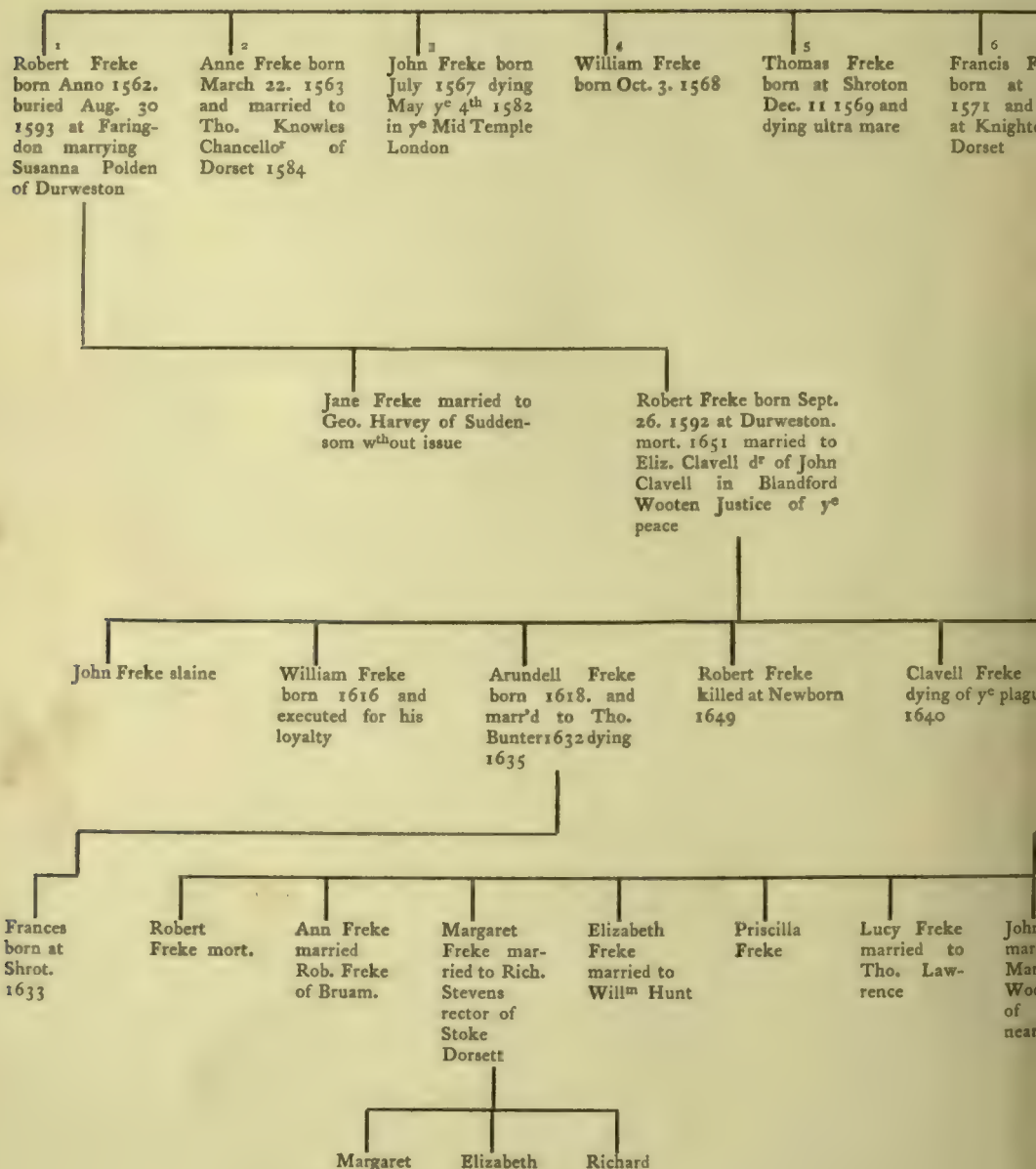






## II. FREKE OF FARINGDON AND

John Freke [thin  
farmed y<sup>e</sup> rectory  
y<sup>e</sup> Faringdon esta  
male at this day b  
died there y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup>





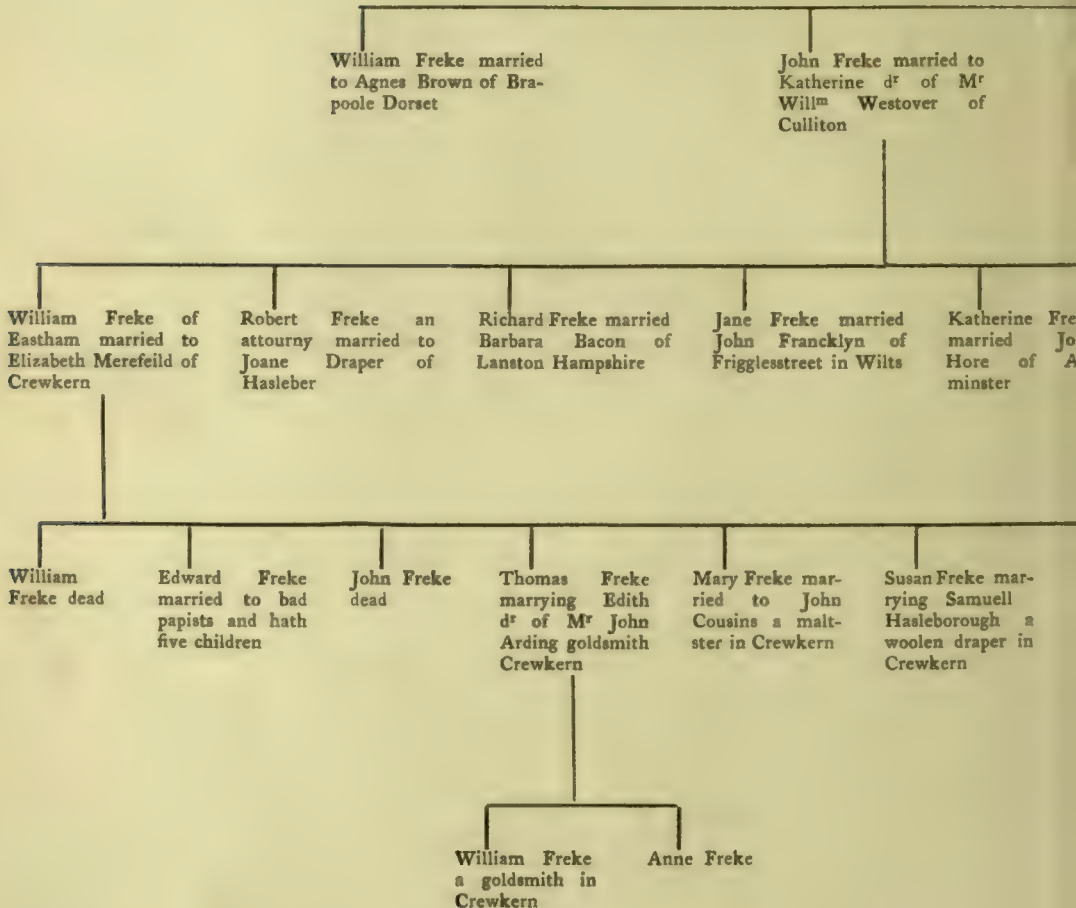






### III. FREKE OF

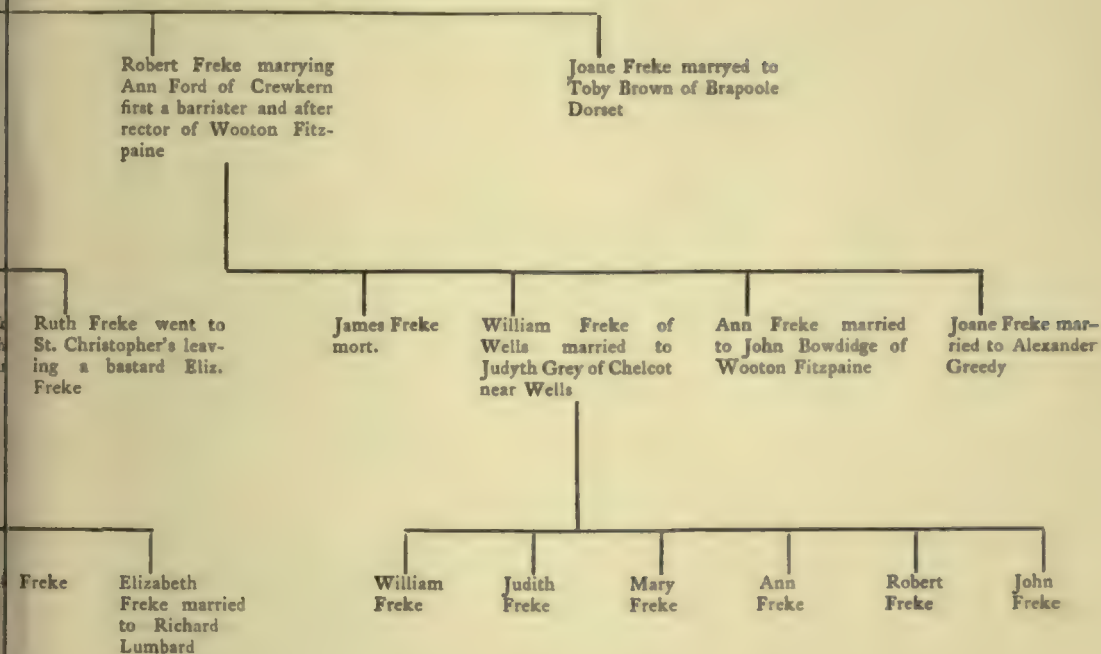
Francis Freke [son of Somerset married there supposed 7<sup>th</sup> elder branch speciall providence attained inheriting his father's n father died, how great certainly known but ca 2 or 300/ p an. besides brothers and sisters, and considering that John o brothers left their child: dition as appears by their



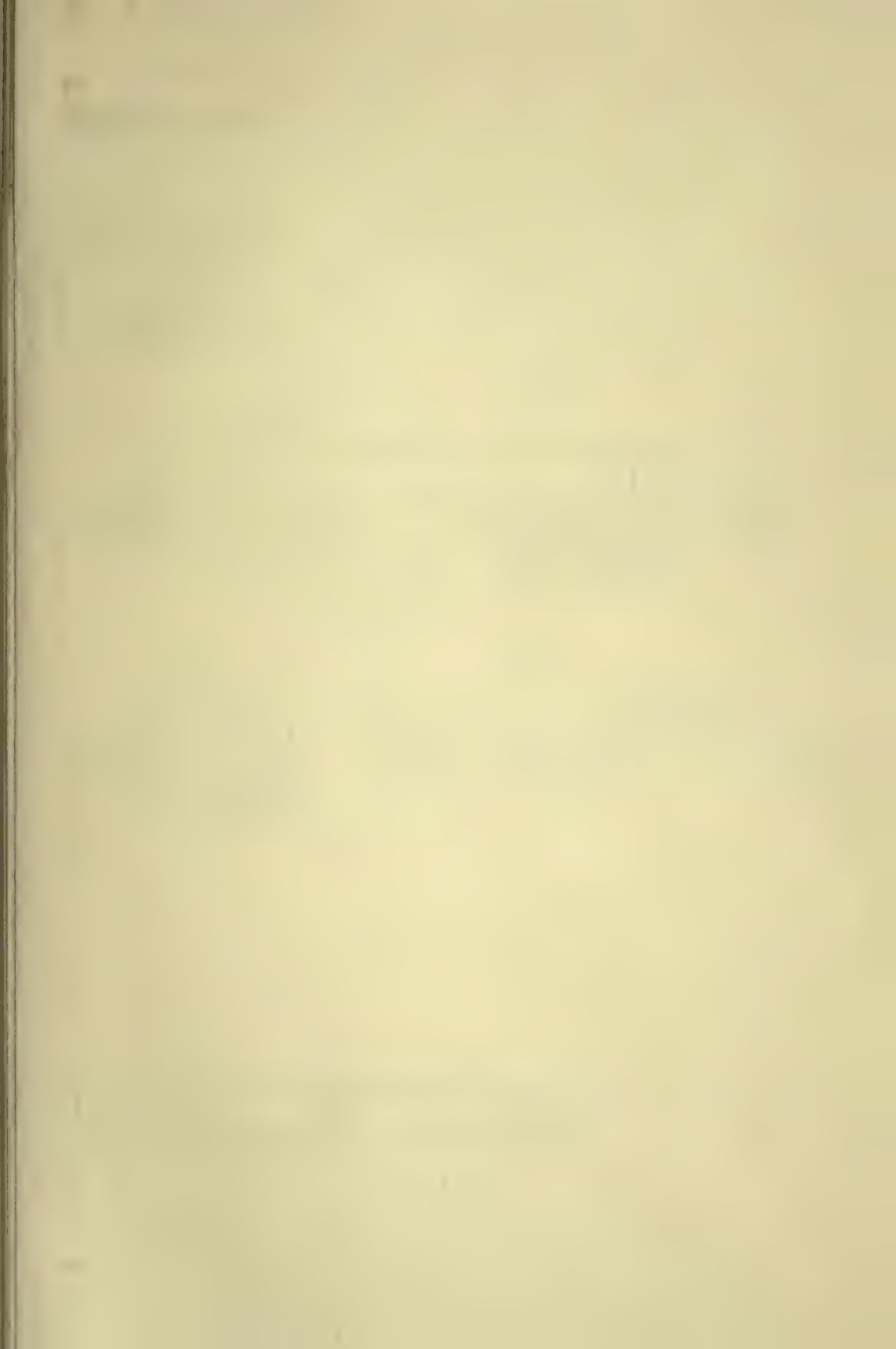


# CROOKHORN

ak Freke] of Crookhorne  
 Mary — and to be  
 y<sup>e</sup> family tho Robert by a  
 s<sup>e</sup> far greater estate both as  
 and withall living where his  
 paternall estate was is not  
 tur'd to have been about  
 provision made for younger  
 and it could not be well less  
 rowton and all y<sup>e</sup> younger  
 in a very gentlemanly con-  
 tes legacies and matches

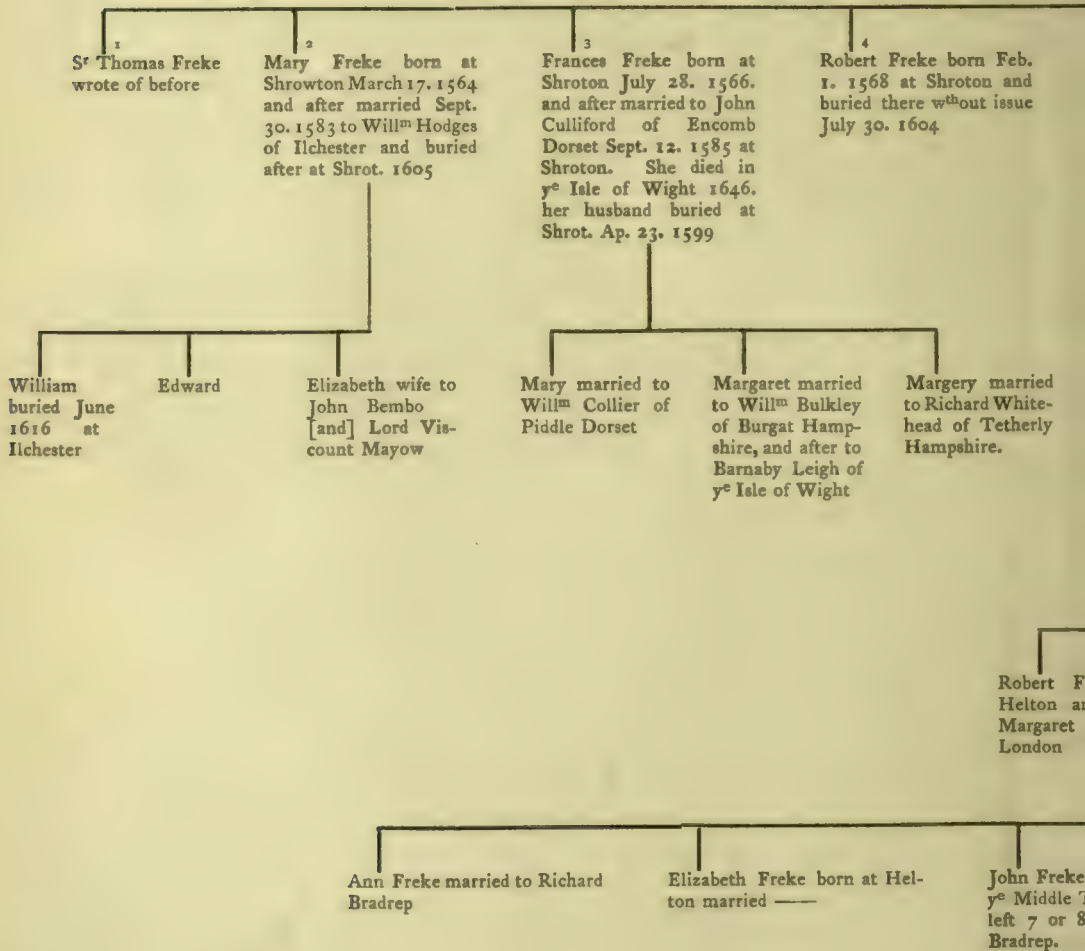






## IV. FREKE

Robert Freke of Shroton esq A was chose by auditor Keynsey in y<sup>e</sup> schoole he hapned to be which place he succeeded so we an estate of one hundred thousa Alice Swaine of Gunvile who ly self being buried there Octob. 15 Note by y<sup>e</sup> assistance of this R y<sup>e</sup> Stratfeildsea Pitts in y<sup>e</sup> per married — Swaine sister to R

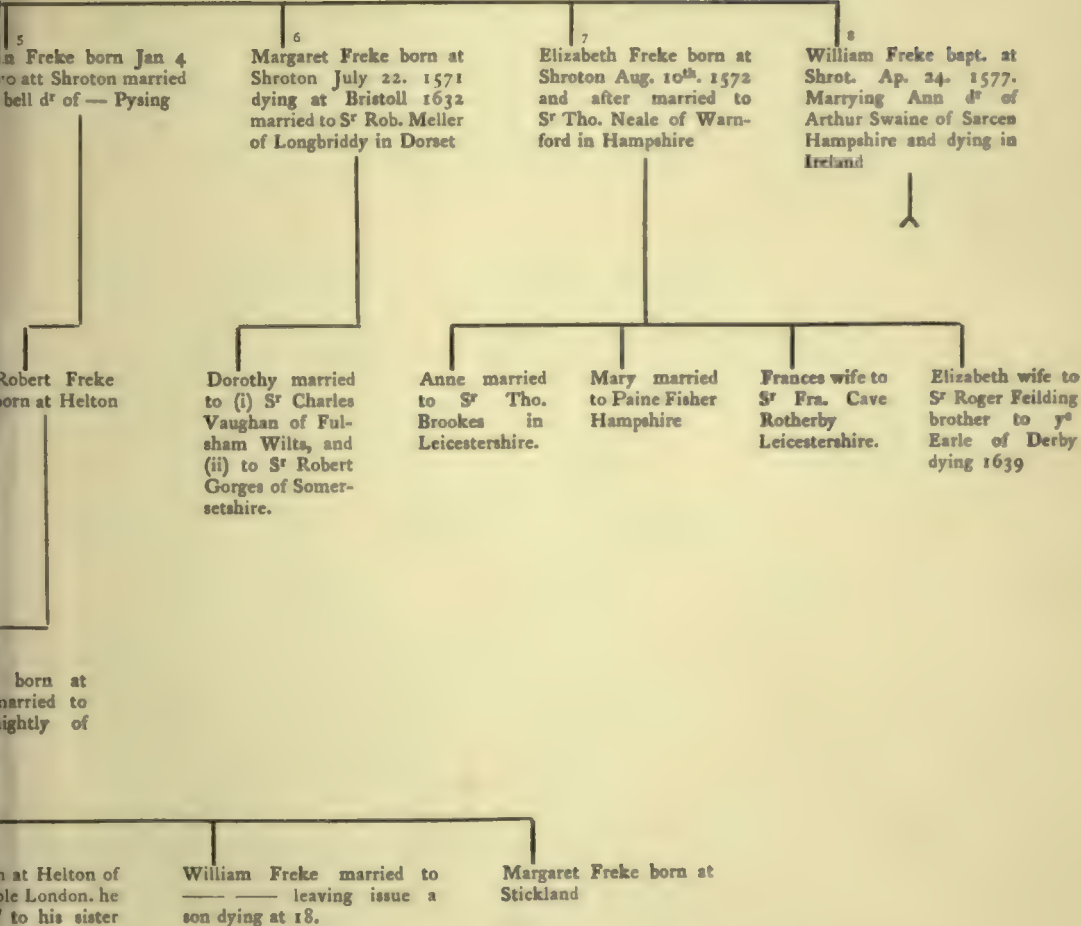




# OF HELTON

1532 and y<sup>e</sup> 34 of H. y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup>  
 hopefuller boy represented him  
 at in to be his clarke, and in  
 at he is computed to have left  
 ounds behind him, he married  
 ured at Shrot. Ap. 1577 him-

Freke was raysd y<sup>e</sup> family of  
 of S<sup>r</sup> William Pit and who  
 ke's wife.







# V. FREKE C

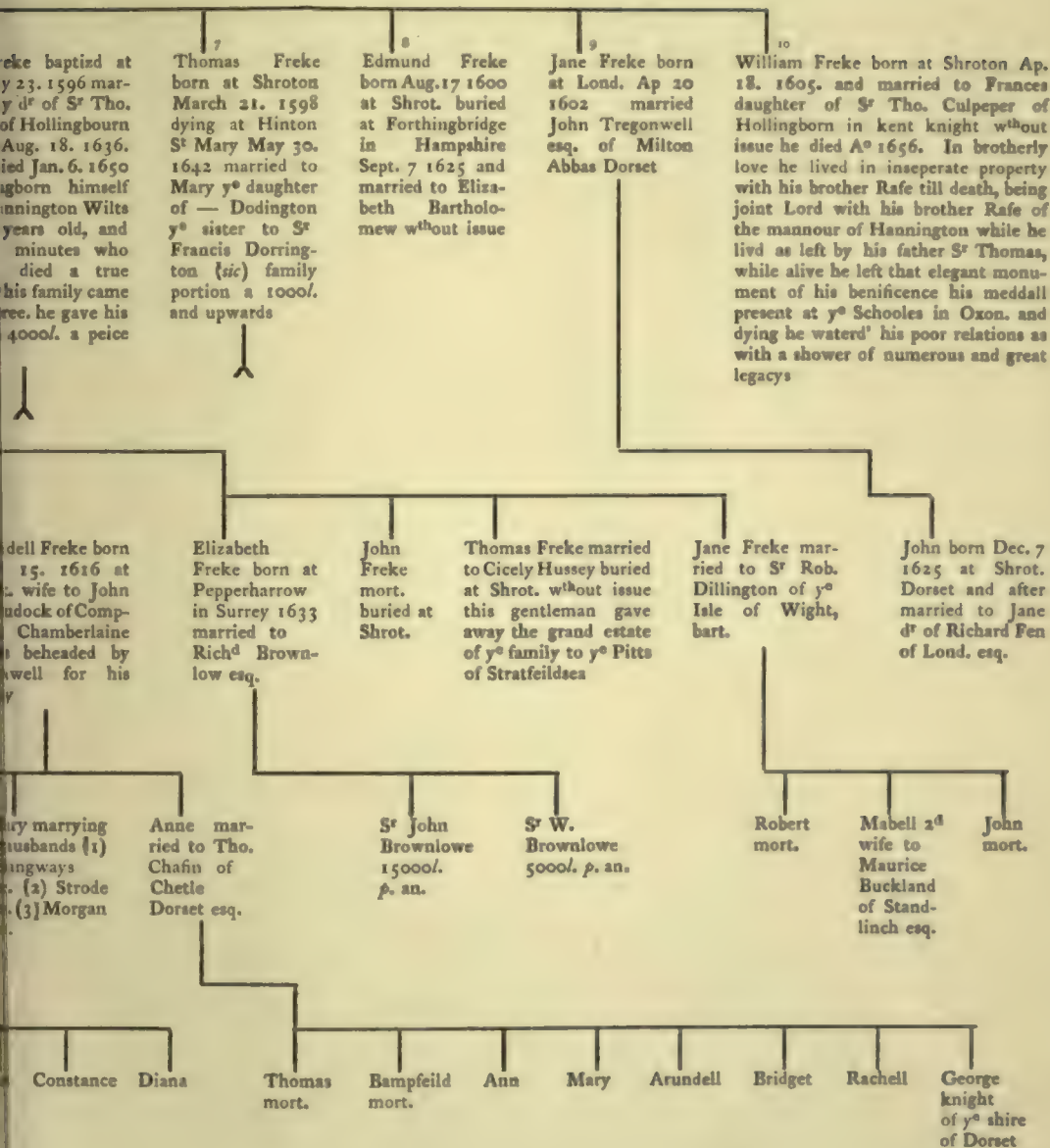
S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Freke born Se  
knighted by King James he  
and lyes buried at Shrot.  
Taylour citizen haberdasher  
Lond. and widow to Fra. Sm  
at Shrot. Jan. 16 1640



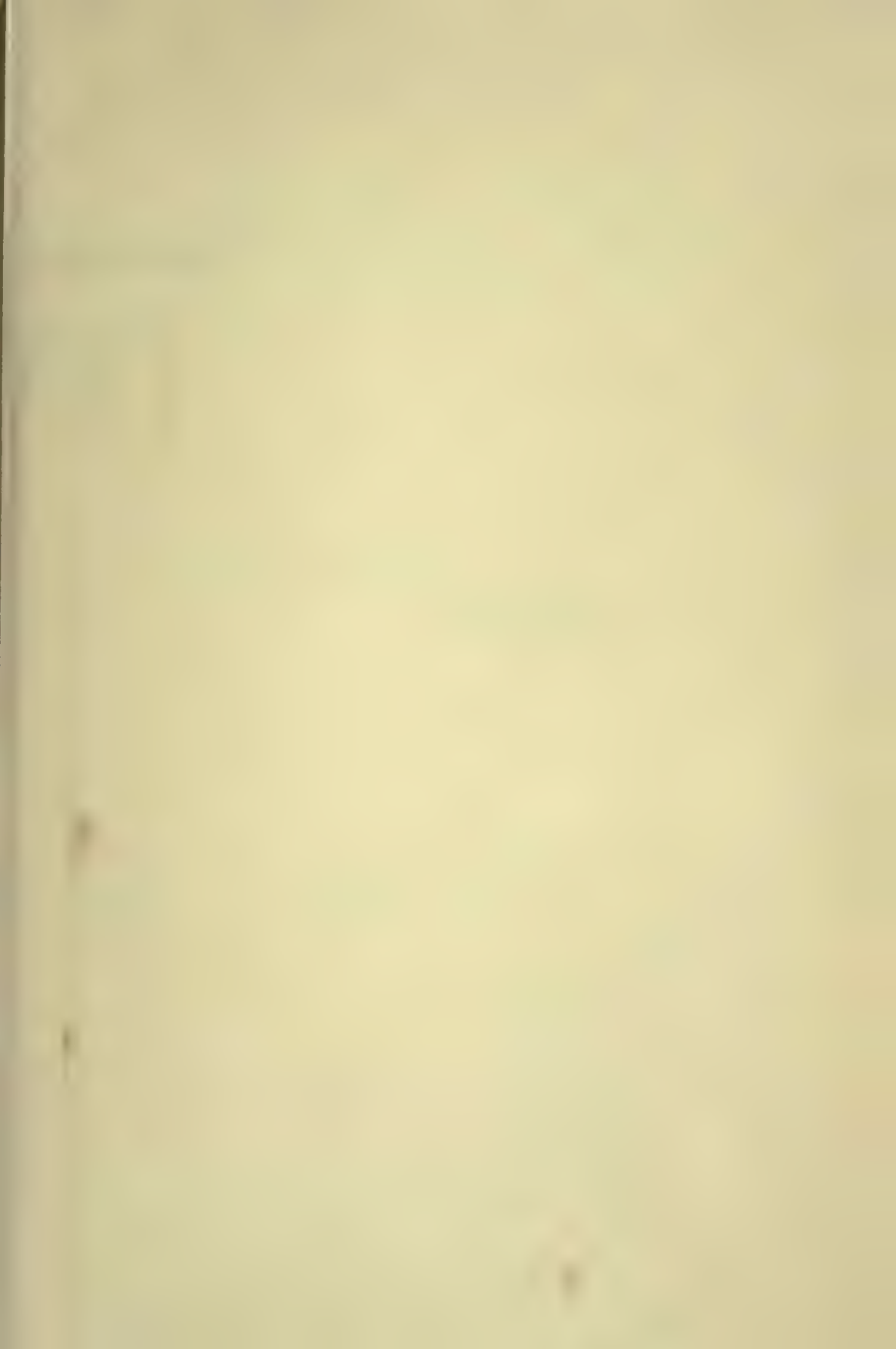


# SHROTON

7 1563 at Blandford and  
att Warnford May 5 1633  
life Eliz. daughter of John  
Alderman of Coleman Street  
born Sept. 13 1567 and died

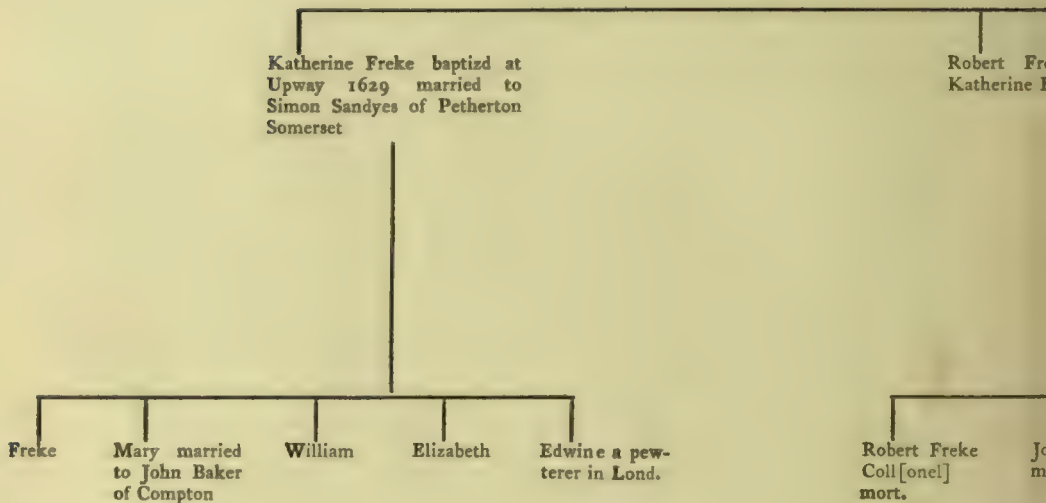






## VI. FREKE

Robert Freke [s]  
Freke of Shroton  
Cerne, and die  
married Kath. d  
Cadbury Somer  
Upway also





OF UPWAY

son of Sir Thomas  
born Ap. 13. 1592 at  
Upway 1650 he  
Matthew Ewenc of  
and who died at

married to George Freke mort. without  
issue

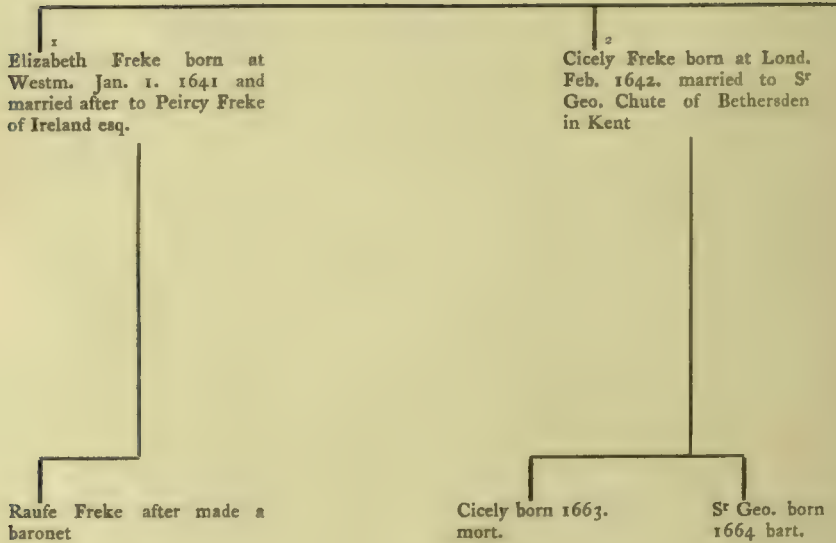
Freke	Raufe Freke mort.	Thomas Freke mort.	Elizabeth Freke	William Freke mort.	Francis Freke mort.
			Jane Freke	George Freke Brigadier married in Ireland. This gent tho' without issue may deservedly stand as a new father to his father's house he restor'd y <sup>e</sup> antient mort- gagd estate & tho he never had aide from it yet by his long military gaines he not only got himself a g <sup>d</sup> estate but w <sup>th</sup> all grandly assisted to y <sup>e</sup> support of all his B <sup>s</sup> & S <sup>r</sup> & their familye left by y <sup>m</sup> by family settlement he ot to have been y <sup>e</sup> p <sup>re</sup> snt heir & possess'd of y <sup>e</sup> Shrot. estate	Edmund Freke mort
					Henry Freke
					[And other child- ren unnamed]





## VII. FREKE C

Raufe Freke [fourth  
Shroton] baptiz'd at  
Cicely dr of S<sup>r</sup> Th<sup>s</sup>  
Kent Aug. 18. 1638  
Hollingborn himself  
88 years old and from  
a true father of his  
his daughters 4000l.





# HANNINGTON

of Sir Thomas Freke of  
 July 23. 1596 married  
 peper of Hollingbourn in  
 who died Jan. 6. 1650 at  
 t Hannington Wilts. 1684  
 minutes who liv'd and died  
 same this Pedigree he gave  
 fortune

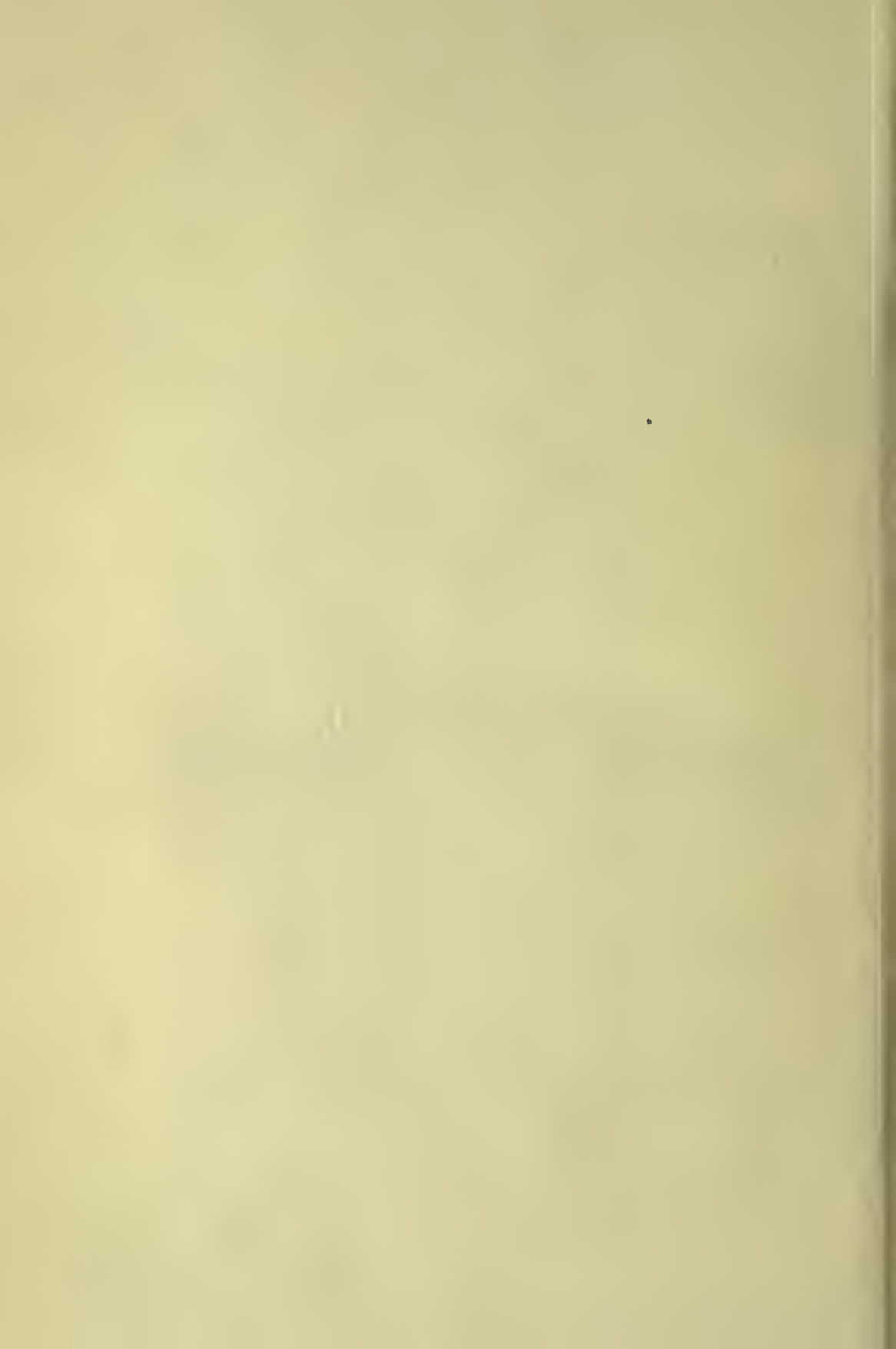
<sup>3</sup>  
 Frances Freke born May 22  
 1644 at Oxon. and married  
 to S<sup>r</sup> Geo. Norton of Leigh  
 near Bristol

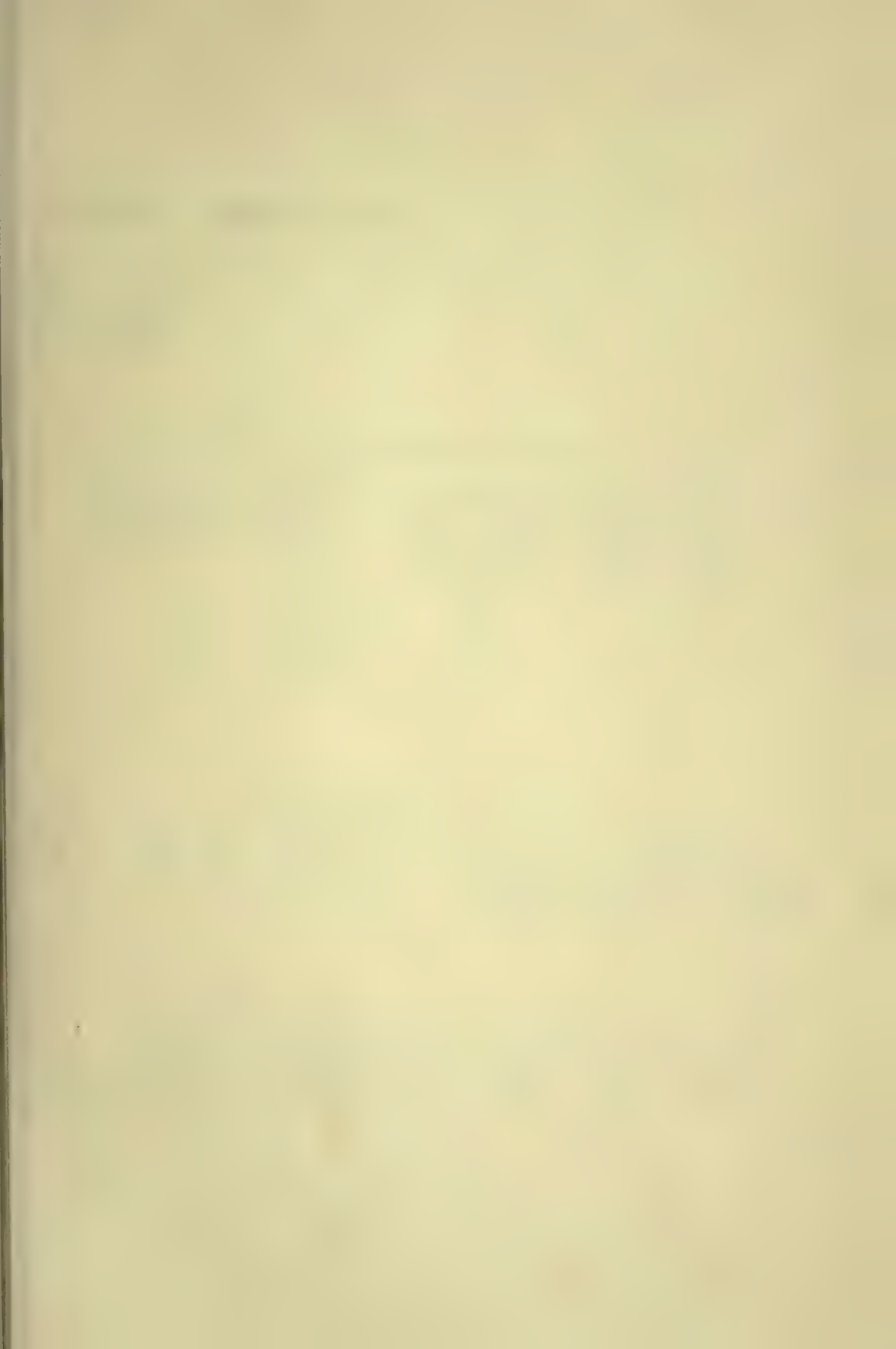
Lady Grace Gethin

<sup>4</sup>  
 Judith Freke born 1646 at  
 Sarum and married to Robert  
 Austin esq. of Tenterden in  
 Kent

Robert

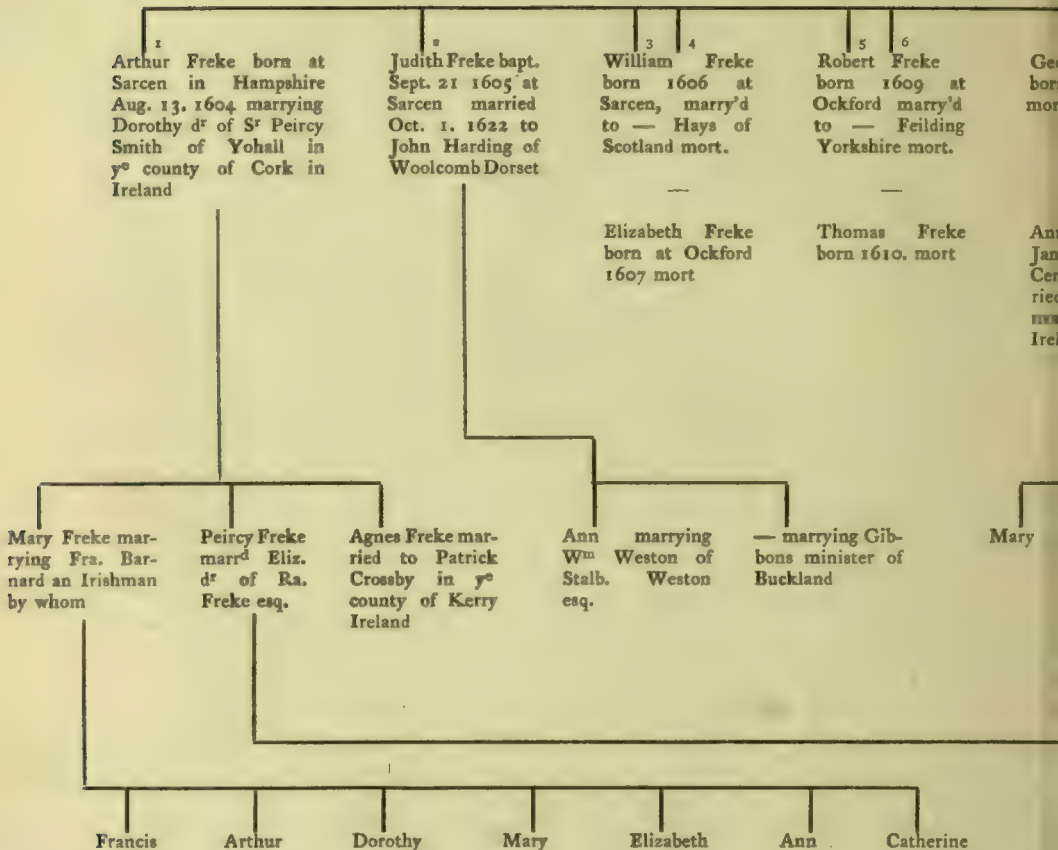
Judith





# VIII. THE IRISH

William Freke [eighth  
Shroton] bapt. at Shroton  
Ann d<sup>r</sup> of Arthur Sw  
and dying in Ireland





# HOUSE OF FREKE

Robert Freke of  
1577. Marrying  
Cerne Hampshire





## DEEDS RELATING TO THE FAMILY OF WYDMERPOL OF WYDMERPOL IN NOT- TINGHAMSHIRE

### I

**R**OBERT OF DERLEYE and Margaret his wife to Nicholas son of Nicholas of Wydmerpol. Grant of ten tofts and ten crofts and ten oxgangs of land which Nicholas at the town's head, Henry the son of Matthew, Ralph Athelin, Walter Elys, Robert son of Margery, William Bulle, William Anne, Robert Sparewe, Ralph Hertte and William S . . . held in villeinage, together with the said villeins and their families, etc., and with two cottages which John Bate and Robert Miller held. Witnesses : Walter of Grimmston, William Plungoun of Stanton, John Julyen of Wydmerpol, Thomas Gervyse of the same, John son of Geoffrey of Willuby, Henry son of Hugh of the same, and Robert the spencer of Goltham. *Undated.*

### II

John son of Sir John de Heryz, knight, to Nicholas son of Nicholas Wydmarpoel. Quitclaim of all right to the wardship and marriage of the said Nicholas by reason of the lands which the said Nicholas holds or held of Robert de la Valeye in Wydmarpoel, which said wardship and marriage the said Sir John held in his time on account of the minority of William son of Robert de la Valeye, the immediate tenant of the said Sir John. Witnesses : Sir John of Leke, Roger de St. Andrew, and Piers Pygot, knights ; Gervase the Fraunkeleyn of Keworthe, Gervase son of Isabel of the same, William Plungun of Staunton, John Gylyan of Wydmarpoel. Dated at Wynnefeld, Saturday after St. George, 31 Hen. III. [1247].

### III

William son of Robert de la Valeye [de Valle] to Nicholas son of Nicholas of Widmerpol. Grant of two acres of arable

land in the fields of Widmerpol (one acre of which lies between the land of the said Nicholas and the land which Marjory, mother of the said William, formerly held in dower). Witnesses: William of Schefeud in Wishowe, William . . . , Gervase son of Henry of Keworthe, John Lake of the same, Gervase son of Gervase of the same, William of Houton in Boneie, Robert Pedmor of the same, John Gilion of Widmerpol, John son of Robert of the same, William son of Thomas of the same, William the Stedeman of the same, and others. Dated at Widmerpol on St. Matthew's day, 11 Edw. I. [1283].

## IV

John called Bragg of Wydmerpol, to Nicholas of Wydmerpol and Maude his wife, and the heirs of the said Nicholas. Grant of a capital messuage lying near the capital messuage of the said Nicholas in Wydmerpol, with release of all rents and services which the said Nicholas or his ancestors owed to the said John or his ancestors. Witnesses: Walter of Grymestone, Gervase the Fraunkeleyn of Keworth, William Plungun of Staunton, John Julian of Wydmerpol, Thomas son of Gervase of the same, and Robert Provost of the same. Dated at Wydmerpol, Sunday after St. Leonard, 27 Edw. I. [1299].

For which grant the said Nicholas has given by his charter of feoffment to the said John a messuage, with its houses in Escambury.

## V

William son of Henry of Schelford, to Nicholas son of Nicholas of Widmerpol and Maude his wife and their heirs. Quitclaim of all right in a messuage in Widmerpol which John Bragg granted to the said Nicholas and Maude. Witnesses: Gervase the Frankeleyn, William Plungun of Stanton, John Julian of Widmerpol, Thomas Gervays of the same, and Robert the reeve of the same. Dated at Wydmerpol, Sunday after St. Leonard, 27 Edw. I. [1299].

## VI

Final concord made at Westminster in the quinzaine of St. John Baptist, 35 Edw. I. [1307], between William of



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Shefeld, plaintiff, by Durand of Wydemerpol, his attorney, and Master Ralph Barrey, deforciant, by Thomas Barrey, his attorney, of 10 messuages, 240<sup>a</sup> land, 6<sup>a</sup> meadow, and 20s. 6d. rent in Wysowe and Wylugbi, which the said William recognizes to be of the right of the said Ralph, for which recognition the said Ralph grants to the said William 9 messuages 216<sup>a</sup> land and 6<sup>a</sup> meadow of the aforesaid, to hold to the said William for life, with remainder to Thomas son of Nicholas of Wydemerpol and Elizabeth daughter of the said William, and the heirs which the said Thomas shall have begotten of the body of the said Elizabeth, with remainder in default of such to the right heirs of the said Elizabeth.

### VII

Final concord made at Westminster in the quinzaine of Easter, 4 Edw. II. [1311], between Nicholas of Wydmerpulle and Roger Burt, plaintiffs, and Master Robert of Wydmerpulle, parson of the church of Swafelde, deforciant, of four messuages, one plough land and ten acres of meadow in Querendon by Garewe [co. Leic.]. The said messuages and lands are to be held by the said Nicholas for life, with remr. to the said Roger for life, with remr. to Thomas son of the said Nicholas and the heirs of his body, with remr. to the right heirs of the said Nicholas. [Paper copy xv. cent.].

### VIII

Indenture of agreement between Nicholas of Wydmerpoyl and Elizabeth his wife and William Bolton of Wyshoue and Margaret his wife and Sewal their son. The said Nicholas and Elizabeth grant to the said William, Margaret and Sewal a messuage and an oxgang of land in Wyshowe which Robert of the Grene held aforetime, for their lives and for the life of the survivor of them, at a yearly rent of 12s. Witnesses: John of Haddon, Reynold Bullock, Thomas son of Richard, John Johnet and Henry Johnet of Wyshowe. Dated at Wyshowe, Friday after St. Valentine, 10 Edw. II. [1317].

### IX

Final concord made in the octave of Trinity, 10 Edw. II. [1317], between Nicholas of Wydmerpol and his wife, Alice

and Robert son of the said Nicholas, plaintiffs, and Durand of Wydmerpol, deforciant, of six messuages and eight rods of land in Wydmerpol and Staunton by Wydmerpol, to be held to the said Nicholas, Alice and Robert for their lives with remr. to Thomas, son of the said Nicholas, and the heirs of his body, with remr. to the right heirs of the said Nicholas.

## X

Indenture between Thomas of Wydmerpol and William son of Reynold of Wyshou. Grant of a rood of land in Wyshou, in a place called Berehou, in exchange for a certain part of one messuage in Wyshou. Witnesses: Gervase Frankeleyn of Keworth, John his son, John Johnett of Wyshou, William of Bolton of the same, and John son of Reynold of the same. Dated at Wyshou, Tuesday the feast of St. George, 18 Edw. II. [1325].

## XI

Nicholas of Wydemarpoll to Robert son of Ralph of Sixhull and to Margery his wife. Grant of a piece of land in Wydemarpoll and eight acres of arable land for a term of years. Witnesses: John Warde of Wydemarpoll, Richard Coke, William son of Thomas Robert and Roger Julyan. Dated at Wydemarpoll, Monday before St. Peter in cathedra, 39 Edw. III. [1364].

## XII

Richard son of Robert of Rakedale of Wyloughbi, to Nicholas of Wydemarpoll. Grant of a messuage in Wyloughbi with 20<sup>a</sup> of arable land, and the reversion of four acres of arable land after the death of Agnes late wife of Walter of Tibshelf of Bonay. Witnesses: Richard of Derlay of Wyloughbi, Richard Porchet, Richard Harding, John Warde of Wydemarpoll, Roger Julian of the same, and others. Dated at Wyloughbi, Wednesday after Palm Sunday, 44 Edw. III. [1371].

## XIII

Richard son of Lettice of Keworth, chaplain, to John son of Robert son of Thomas of Wyloughbi, and to Agnes wife of the said John and daughter of John Warde. Grant of the

## THE FAMILY OF WYDMERPOL 217

moiety of a messuage in Wydemerpoll, with 16½ acres of land which the said Richard had of the feoffment of John Warde. To hold to the said John and Agnes and the heirs of their bodies, with remr. in default of such heirs to John Warde and Alice his wife and the heirs of the said John Warde. Witnesses : Sir Richard of Suthorpe, parson of Wydemerpoll, Nicholas of Wydemerpoll, Robert Herdewyn, William Robert, Roger Julian, clerk, and others. Dated at Wydemerpoll the feast of St. Peter in chains, 46 Edw. III. [1372].

### XIV

Nicholas of Widmerpoll to Sir Thomas Walsh, lord of Onlep, Nicholas Ridel of Witering, John Nevile of Wimondwold, and William Eland of Algarthorp. Enfeoffment of all lands and tenements in the counties of Nottingham and Huntingdon, with all goods and chattels. Witnesses : Hugh of Annesley, Thomas of Rempston, Sir John Dene, parson of Widmerpoll, Robert Hardwyn, Robert Clerk, and Roger Julian of the same. Dated at Widmerpoll, Sunday after Candlemas, 1 Ric. II. [137½].

### XV

Thomas Walsh, knight, John Nevell, knight, Nicholas Rydell and William Eland, to John of Wydmerpole and Fine his wife. Grant of all lands, etc., which the grantors had by the feoffment of Nicholas of Wydmerpole, father of the said John, in the counties of Nottingham and Huntingdon, to the said John and Fine and the heirs of their bodies, with remr. to the right heirs of the said John. Witnesses : Thomas Rempston and Henry Nevell, knights, Thomas of Annesley, esquire, John of Colston, and Ralph Notyngnam. Dated at Wydmerpole, Monday after Palm Sunday, 16 Ric. II. [1393].

Four seals are attached.

I. A shield of arms : *two gimel bars with a baston*, S . . . [WALSCHÉ].

II. A shield of arms : *a cross paty fitchy between two leopards' heads with fleurs de lys coming out of them in the chief and a like leopard's head between two crosses paty fitchy in the foot*, supported by two sitting leopards, and hanging from the hands of a savage man. The arms represent a shield in which the three leopards' heads should be in a



field powdered with crosses paty fitchy. s' IEHAN . DE . NVEFVILLE.

III. and IV. Devices.

### XVI

John Widmerpole of Widmerpole, esquire, to Nicholas Widmerpole his son and Elizabeth wife of the said Nicholas and the heirs of their bodies. Grant of five messuages, five rods and one oxgang of land in Wysowe. Witnesses : Thomas Poge of Notyngnam, Thomas Columbell, Thomas Derley, John Melton, and Hugh Armestronge. Dated at Wysowe. 10 October, 6 Hen. VI. [1427].

### XVII

Robert Hykkylling, chaplain to Nicholas Wydemerepole and Elizabeth his wife. Grant of five messuages, five rods and one oxgang of land in Wysowe which the said Robert, with Thomas Poge now deceased, had of the feoffment of John Wydmerepole, esquire. Witnesses : Hugh Armestronge of Wysowe, Richard Samon of Notyngnam, and Thomas Alastre of the same. Dated at Wysowe, 18 November, 22 Hen. VI. [1443].

### XVIII

Edward Warde son and heir of Edward Warde of Wydemerpole, to John Draper of Flyntham and Elizabeth his wife. Quitclaim of lands, etc., in Wydemerpole, late of Edward Wymondham, formerly of Claxton. Witnesses : Nicholas Wydemerpole, Nicholas Peny of Wydemerpole, and William Martyn of Keworth. Dated 27 September, 31 Hen. VI. [1452].

A broken seal attached.

### XIX

Nicholas Wydemerpole, gentleman, John Sapcootes the elder, gentleman, and Agnes late wife of Richard Lawe of Grantham, deceased, to Alexander Keyser son and heir of Nicholas Keyser and of Joan late daughter and heir of the said Richard Lawe. Grant of all lands, etc., in Grantham, Gunnorby, Hoghton and Belton by Grantham co. Lincoln, which the grantors had by feoffment of the said Richard Lawe. Witnesses : John Lane, alderman of Grant-



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ham, John Haryngton, esquire, John Dages, John Brawnsewell, and Richard Gudrye of Grantham. Dated at Grantham 4 November, 13 Edw. IV. [1473].

### XX

Richard Elmeyden of North Walsham, co. Norfolk, gent., and Elizabeth his wife, late wife of Alexander Armstrong, gent., deceased, and Thomas Armstrong son and heir of the said Alexander and Elizabeth, to Gabriel Armstrong, esquire, and John Buxsom, clerk. Grant of all lands, etc., in Wysawe, co. Nottingham, to the use of the said Gabriel and his heirs and assigns for ever. Dated 20 January, 1 Edw. VI. [1547].

### XXI

Bond wherein John Wharton of Westwicke, yeoman, and Thomas Rowlandson of Barnacastell, gent., both in the bishoprick of Durham, are bound to Edward Woodmanpoole of Alne and William Woodmanpoole of Everton, co. Notts, gentlemen, in 100*l.* to keep harmless the said Edward and William against Anthony Wharton, one of the sons of Robert Wharton, late of Everton, as against all other men, by reason of an obligation wherein the said John Wharton stands bound in the exchequer at York with them, and one Robert Menvell for the son's portion of the said Anthony. Dated 29 June, 3 and 4 Phil. and Mar. [1557].

### XXII

Bill witnessing that Thomas Reaves of Everton, co. Nottingham, has received of Edward Wydmerpole 46*s.* 8*d.* in full payment of forty marks which the said Edward promised to give unto the said Thomas and Agnes daughter to the said Edward, for the child's portion of the said Agnes. Dated 11 June, 2 Eliz. [1560].

### XXIII

Edward Wydmerpole of Everton, co. Notts, gent., to William Wydmerpole, his son and heir apparent. Grant of messuages and lands in Alne, co. York, in the tenure of Robert Clerke and John Ibbson, for the life of the said Edward. Witnesses: Leonard Hollyngworth and Thomas Kendall. Dated 10 September, 6 Eliz. [1654].

## XXIV

Counterpart of articles of agreement made 10 December 8 Eliza. [1565] between William Wydmerpull of Heyverton, co. Notts, gent., and Hugh Cressy of . . . well, co., York, gent., concerning the farm of the manor or capital messuage of Heverton aforesaid, with the lands, etc., appertaining to the same. Signed by Hugh Cressy, who seals with a seal of arms of a lion with a forked tail.

## XXV

Counterpart of indenture made 3 August, 7 Jac. I. [1609] between George Widmerpoole of Wysall, co. Notts, esquire, and Roger Morrice of Widmerpoole, husbandman. Lease of a cottage in Wydmerpoole for twenty-one years.

## XXVI

Alne cum Tollarton. Copy of court roll.

Court held 7 October, 10 Elizabeth [1634].

Comes Edward Wydmerpole, gent., to be admitted to six parcels of meadow in Alne.

## XXVII

Probate copy of the codicil of the will of George Widmerpole, late of St. Michael Bassishaw, London, but in St. Giles's in the fields, deceased.

Whereas upon 28 May 1689 Jane Clifton, daughter of the said George, did of her affection to her sister Anne Horne, widow, part most of the household goods of the said George between her sister and herself against the mind of the said George, and something contrary to the express words of the will of the said George then signed and sealed, the said George now wills that the residue of all his goods not then parted between his said daughters he will keep to himself for life, with remainder to the said Jane Clifton, his executrix, except his part of his plate and his 'Beagle lookeing glasse,' which he had given by his will to his grandson Samuel Horne. Witnesses : Edward Jenkins and Aaron Hanbury.

Proved 27 April 1696 by Jane Clifton, wife of Thomas Clifton, the extrix.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### THE ATTWOODS AND THEIR BARD

DEAR SIR,—

I have read with interest your review of that ridiculous book which calls itself a history of my family, and with considerable amusement your 'appreciation' of my grandfather Thomas Attwood. I have often wondered why one so noted in his day should have been so forgotten. Perhaps you supply the clue? He was an 'untiring bore'! A sad thought strikes me—Can that be the reason why we are most of us forgotten so readily? But—perish the thought! But for the book. It is not a large one, and I should not have believed so much vulgarity and so much nonsense could have been crammed into its pages. As you kindly and truly admit, I am 'a genealogist of the modern school' and a very keen one, so you can imagine—no one better!—the feelings with which I turn over page after page of Mr. Robinson's wonderful production. I am now the male representative of the Attwoods of Hawne, and genealogy has been the great interest of my life, and yet neither I nor my cousin Mr. Llewellyn C. F. Attwood were told that such an outrage on our family, as is this book, was even in contemplation. Mr. John Robinson, however, whoever he may be, is not really responsible beyond the fact that he has lent his name to statements which he can have made no attempt to verify. The person who is responsible is a certain John Moore, in Beckenham, who has also obtruded statements regarding persons of his own name of whom the Attwoods have never heard.

Even you miss some delightful points in the various parentage suggested for my earliest authenticated ancestor, George Attwood married Mary Foley, in 1678. In the event of his having been a son of George Attwood and Winifred Petre he was married some five years before his alleged father was born, for I have good reason for knowing the latter could not have been born earlier than 1683-4!

Another suggested descent is from (Richard) Attwood who



married Eleanor Sutton *alias* Dudley. But Mr. Sidney Grazebrook gives me the date of this marriage as 1675, which would make their son (?!) George Attwood marry Mary Foley at the somewhat early age of three, and become a father—I am now speaking from memory—at the age of about five.

A few lines about the Gaunt pedigree. No portion of it was ever lost or mislaid on the death of Benjamin Attwood. I am very much surprised if he ever had a copy, though it is of course possible that, together with the greater part of his wealth, he inherited it from his nephew Matthias Wolverley Attwood, sometime M.P. for Greenwich. Benjamin Attwood was utterly uninterested in—in fact hostile towards all subjects of the kind. All he cared for was the management of his great wealth, and the systematic squandering of it in charity.

I have what I believe to be the original, and what I believed till lately to be the sole copy of the pedigree of the Gaunts of Rowley Regis. It is dated June 1, 1848. It consists of three sheets of parchment, containing (1) a pedigree of the baronial family of Gand or Gaunt, (2) a pedigree of the family of Gaunt of Rowley Regis, co. Stafford, and (3) a pedigree of the Attwoods of Hawne, descended from the marriage of Rachel Maria Gaunt and George Attwood in 1742.

The first sheet is endorsed :—

Pedigree of the Gaunt Family,  
Also of  
Rachel Maria Gaunt,  
who married  
George Attwood,  
And died 3rd March 1798. Aged 82 years.

Neither inside nor, as you see, in the endorsement is any absolute claim whatever made to definite descent from the baronial house, and thus this miserable Moore-Robinson production only serves to make ridiculous another family once much respected in its own neighbourhood, and with a pedigree of considerable length and interest though it has never yet been scientifically worked out.

Pray excuse this long letter, but the publicity you give to my family affairs seems to demand it, and I must ask you to be so good as to make this equally public. I have a good deal of miscellaneous information about the different Wor-



cestershire families of my name, which is at any time at the service of any of your readers.

To return for a moment to the original subject of my letter. I hope shortly to have printed a small sheet of the more obvious corrections needed by the unhappy possessors of the Moore-Robinson production, and I shall be happy to send it to any one who cares to apply to me for it.

I am, dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

THOS. A. C. ATTWOOD.

#### ANTHONY ANGELO

SIR,—

In vol. viii. of the *Ancestor* there is an article on the Angelo family by the Rev. C. Swynnerton, in which statements are made regarding one branch of the family at variance with the records of the India Office.

At p. 43 it is said of Anthony Angelo that 'there is at the India Office no evidence to show that he sailed in any official capacity.' So far from this being the case, there is complete evidence that he was appointed a cadet in the ordinary way on the nomination of two directors on 12 November 1777, and directed to proceed to India by a certain vessel; the evidence for this is contained in the *Cadet Books*, 1775-98, vol. ii, and *Bengal Mily. Consultations*, 9 December 1778, p. 350. Further on in the same page it is stated that he received his promotion to lieutenant by 'cumulative act'; this is not the case; he was promoted in the ordinary way; the proof of this is *Bengal Mily Consultations*, 25 February 1779, the date on which the promotion was actually made and (with several others) ordered to be antedated to 24 October 1778, to fill vacancies existing from that date, owing to the re-organization of the East India Company Forces.

Much that follows on this page is mere conjecture, or rests on the insecure basis of family tradition, a pitfall that Mr. Swynnerton would have done well to avoid; but the subject is of no interest except to his descendants, and it only derives importance from its appearance in the pages of the *Ancestor*.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN P. STEEL.

## AN EARLY HONEYMOON

SIR,—

When William Marshal became a made man, in 1189, by securing the hand of the heiress of the Earls of Pembroke, 'qui fu bone e bele,' he proposed that they should be married on her own estates on the Welsh border. His poetical biography, however, tells us that his host, a wealthy citizen of London, would not hear of it, and insisted on the wedding taking place in London and paying the cost himself. When the wedding was over, he carried off his bride to Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey—'kindly lent' (as the Society papers have it) by Sir Enguerrand D'Abernon—'a peaceful and delectable spot.' All this we learn from *L'histoire de Guillaume le Marechal* (lines 9545-50):—

Quant les noces bien faites furent,  
E richement, si comme els durent,  
La dame emmena, ce savon,  
Chies sire Angeran d'Abernon,  
A Estokes, en liu paisable  
E aesie e delitable.

It would be interesting to learn if there can be found any earlier mention of an orthodox honeymoon in England.

One may add that, as M. Paul Meyer points out, the *trousseau* of the heiress appears to figure on the Pipe Roll of 1 Ric. I. at a cost of £9 12s. 1d.

J. H. R.

## THE JOHNSTONS OF BALLINDERRY

SIR,—

On a tombstone in the churchyard of Ballinderry, co. Antrim, there is the following inscription —

Here lieth the body of Mr. Thomas Johnson of Portmore, who departed this life 30th July 1800, in the 90th year of his age. He was descended from Hon. and Rev. Thomas Johnston, 3rd son of the Earl of Annandale in Scotland, who was Rector of Drumgoolan, and Vicar of Ballynahinch, co. Down, in the reign of King Charles 1st.

The Rev. Thomas Johnston above referred to married Elizabeth Wrench of Devonshire, and had three sons: (i) James, (ii) John, Vicar of Ballynahinch, of whom presently, (iii) William. James married and had

John of Ballinderry, who married Elizabeth Marie, niece of the Rev. James Mace, and had with other issue two sons and three daughters, viz. :—

- I Thomas, lieutenant in army, died in America : married : his descendants held lands in Virginia and Kentucky.
- II John of Ballinderry, of whom presently.
- I Daughter, married Laird Catherwood, son of Wm. Catherwood of Ballyvester, co. Down.
- II Daughter, married George Watson of Brookhill, near Lisburn.
- III Daughter, married John Kelly of Ballinderry.

The second son, John Johnston of Ballinderry, married Eliza, daughter of — Bunting, and had Thomas of Portmore, co. Antrim, who married Elizabeth Moore and had eight sons and one daughter, viz :—

- I John Moore, of Rockvale, Ballynahinch, married Charlotte, sister of Mr. Close of Plantation, near Lisburn.
- II William.
- III Edward.
- IV Arthur.
- V Richard.
- VI Thomas of Lurgan.
- VII James of Loughbeg, near Portmore.
- VIII Buntin of Portmore.

- I Elizabeth, married Samuel Johnson.

The second son of the Rev. Thomas Johnston, John, Vicar of Ballynahinch, married Elinor, sister of Dr. William Dunkin, and had two sons, viz. :—

- I William, of Finglas, co. Dublin.
- II John, Rector of Clondavock, co. Donegal, married Mildred, daughter of James Hamilton, Archdeacon of Raphoe, and had two sons and five daughters, viz. :—
- I William, married Elizabeth, daughter of James Moore, of Newport, co. Mayo.
- II John, Rector of Hollymount, co. Mayo.
- I Catherine, married first Wm. Babington, of Urney, co. Donegal ; 2nd Capt. John Pigott, M.P. for Banagher.
- II Elizabeth, married Richard Archer of Wicklow.
- III Mildred, married Thomas Ball.



iv Susanna, married Rev. John Gage, Prebendary of Aghadoey, Derry.

v Anne.

John Moore Johnston's descent is based on his statement in a work called *Heterogenea*, published in 1803, but I have seen another pedigree which shows him to be descended from Thomas Johnston, Provost of Dundee, said to be the third son of John, Vicar of Ballynahinch, and his wife Elinor Dunkin.

I do not know the actual relationship of Thomas, Vicar of Ballynahinch, to the Annandale family. He seems to have been born before the peerage was created, as the date of his ordination was probably 1618.

Perhaps some of your subscribers may be possessed of information regarding him. If so I should be greatly obliged by their making it known to me.

G. H. JOHNSTON,  
LIEUT.-COLONEL.

MARKETHILL, NORTH IRELAND,

BLOHIN ?

SIR,—

Is the use of the capital letter in Domesday really conclusive, or may one still cherish a lingering doubt whether the lord of those Cornish manors was not called Blohiu, even as his descendants were ? The scribe who read Blohin was but a man of like infirmities with us after all. If this is Domesday beleidigung, I think it would be worth a short term of not too hard labour to hear what the great Domesday pundits have to say on such a point ; and therefore feel sure that you, Sir, will respect my confidence, and gladly take any risk in your own proper person.

While we are on the spot, would some Cornish scholar kindly furnish a note upon the tenant of Deliau and Trefrioc T.R.E. ? His name, Iaul or Iaulf, seems to be correctly printed, to judge from the facsimile, though in the second instance his initial is rather like L. But almost exactly opposite, in the second column to the left, the eye rests upon a Saulf, who held Ullavestone before the Conquest.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant.

EXTRANEUS.



## THE SHERIDANS

DEAR SIR,—

As a descendant of the Sheridans, and as the possessor of two of the portraits reproduced in illustration of Mr. Wilfred Sheridan's recent article in the *Ancestor*, I may perhaps be allowed to point out one or two inaccuracies into which he has fallen.

In the first place, Dr. Thomas Sheridan was not the son of William Sheridan, the non-juring Bishop of Kilmore. I know that the statement in the *Ancestor* is in accordance with the pedigree compiled by Francis Harvey in 1875, but there is no evidence that I am aware of to support it.

The Bishop, in his closing days of sickness and penury, had no nearer relation than a niece to attend on him. His condition, as disclosed in his letter to Archbishop King in 1709 (appendix to *2nd Report of Historical MSS. Commission*, p. 244) is inconsistent with the theory that Thomas Sheridan, then an undergraduate of Trinity College, Dublin, was his son.

Some half dozen different accounts have been given of Thomas Sheridan's parentage. The only record on the subject is that contained in the Trinity College matriculation book, which states that he was 'filius Patricii.' The question who this Patrick was is a puzzle yet unsolved. The attempt which has been made to evade it by translating 'filius patricii' as 'the son of a gentleman' is ingenious, but not convincing. There was a Patrick Sheridan, Bishop of Cloyne, brother of William, Bishop of Kilmore, but he died some years before Thomas Sheridan was born.

As regards R. B. Sheridan's brothers and sisters, it is perhaps hypercritical to find fault with the term 'undistinguished' as applied to his brother Charles—the expression is of course relative—but it is a mistake to attribute Strathallan to his sister Alicia. She only published one comedy. The novelist was his niece, Alicia Le Fanu, the daughter of his younger sister Betsy.

Finally, I cannot discover that Dr. Thomas Sheridan ever wrote a *Life of Swift*. The well known biography was written by his son.

Yours faithfully,

W. LE FANU.

KINGSCOURT, KILLARNEY ROAD, BRAY,

30 May, 1904

## EDITORIAL NOTES

The abiding interest of the English public in all that concerns armory is ministered to by an article which has appeared at regular intervals in English magazines for the last half century. It is not perhaps the same article every time, but it has the air of it, and it may be that some industrious author has many times gained acceptance for his version of it. Internal evidence shows that the article which calls itself 'The Romance of Heraldry,' 'Eccentricities of Heraldry,' or 'The Gentle Science,' is the fruit of an afternoon's work in that corner of the museum library which holds the peerages and the handbooks of heraldry. A good example is before us, enjoying the publicity which the English magazine with the largest circulation can give it.

\* \* \*

The article begins in the well-approved manner by quoting the arms ascribed by Morgan to Adam and Eve, and Morgan is rated for 'calmly stating that, as Eve was sole heiress, Adam quartered her arms with his own, bearing them as what is termed an inescutcheon.' Morgan can of course make no reply, but if an attorney should appear for him he might well be absolved of the offence of describing arms upon an 'inescutcheon' as quartered, an armorial impossibility which warns us in advance of the quality of the article-monger. For the 'Romance of Heraldry' the familiar bag of oddments is emptied for us. The Keith arms still commemorate the blood streaks drawn upon a Keith shield half a dozen generations before armory shows itself in Scotland. The Dalziel arms, the arms of a family whose wildest claim to ancestry does not seek to go beyond the Ragman Roll of 1296, are ascribed as usual to a deed of an ancestor in the tenth century. The Drakes of Nutwell are greeted as descendants of the great Sir Francis, who died without chick or child, and the Lockharts take the surname which is found in the twelfth century from their alleged adventure with the heart of the Bruce in the fourteenth. Graeme of Inchbrakie bears in his shield a broken wall which com-

memorates the breaching by an ancestor of the Roman wall between Forth and Clyde. Armory without the romance would suggest that as the Graemes of Inchbrakie are known to be cadets of Montrose, the broken wall recalls nothing more romantic than their purchase in the sixteenth century of the lands of Inchbrakie.

\* \* \*

To give criticism to such an article as this would seem to be but as the breaking of a very dingy butterfly upon the wheel. But the moral remains, that whilst such poor stuff finds a regular and unquestioning market, it is useless to indulge ourselves with talk of the revival of popular interest in armory. The 'Romantic Heraldry' of our article stands for all the armory to which popular interest will ever be directed. All the armory worth a reasonable man's study lies the other side of the Tudors, and can only be studied by those with an intelligent apprehension of archæology. That it should ever become a subject of general interest to the public is as unlikely as unnecessary.

\* \* \*

We have been taken to task for giving to all Gordons that epithet of Cocks of the North, which should properly belong to the Huntly Gordons alone. We confess Saxon ignorance to be at fault, we humble ourselves and offer amends. But rising from our knees we point in some justification to the *ballade* by the editor of the *House of Gordon*, a *ballade* in whose *envoy* the Cock of the North is addressed as the totem of the race.

*Cock of the North! To you we owe  
The hearts which at your slogan note  
Are fain to prove by veldt and voe,  
The Gordons has the guiding o't.*

Good verse cannot abide a gloss, but we venture to believe that the homage of these lines is not directed to my lord Marquess of Huntly.

\* \* \*

A more serious wrong was done the Gordons in the omission of the footnote which should have credited that history of the Gordons, and especially of the house of Gight, upon which we made comment, to its learned editor and be-



getter, Mr. J. M. Bullock, who for the New Spalding Club of Aberdeen had edited this the first volume of the genealogy and history of a house and name which have played such a great part in the world.

\* \* \*

We have before this applauded Mr. Walter Rye's work in saving to the city of Norwich, indifferent itself towards such matters, much of the ancient buildings which give beauty and interest to the town. It would appear that the historic town of Berwick-upon-Tweed nourishes no antiquary who will rebuke its elders and councillors. For a suggested gain of a few yearly pounds Berwick is preparing to level the ancient walls which, manned by Scot and Englishman in turn, survived the border wars and the assaults of kings, to be threatened by a knot of vestrymen.

But it is a far cry to Berwick, and those who look for vandalism will find it planning nearer home than the Scottish border. Croydon in Surrey is one of those country places which have been caught up and devoured by London, but Croydon, unhappily for herself, is governed by her own sons. The town, which is hurrying into a state of commonplace and dingy suburb, owns a curious treasure in the buildings of the Elizabethan hospital which bears the name of Archbishop Whitgift, its founder and builder. This is no scraped and restored fragment, but an ancient and beautiful building, in which the intimate life of Shakespeare's day may be recalled and wondered at. Within its old red walls a valuable charity still fulfils its good work. In truth, this hospital and the school and the old palace of the archbishops are the heart of Croydon which grew and flourished round them; and which without them would have been but a mean village.

\* \* \*

We assume but too hastily that the days of ignorant and destructive vandalism are over and past. Will it be believed that powers are being sought from parliament to enable the local authorities of Croydon to widen a road by destroying Whitgift's beautiful house! The road is to swerve from its line to do this, for on the other side of the way, in full track of the widening road, is a public-house, to spare which these muddily-minded folk are prepared to level the most precious thing in their town. An effort will be made to stay their



hands, but it is sad to think that should Whitgift's foundation be saved, it must needs remain a pearl cast amongst inhabitants of Croydon. The fact that the public-house is a new one, whilst the hospital is quite an old building, has, we are told, influenced the decision of the councillors. Now and again we are threatened with the removal of one or other of our historic landmarks to America. Here is one such which America should acquire from chimney to foundation, and remove it from a people for whom we must look round the language if we would describe them. 'Brute and beastly' was King Harry the Eighth's bluff phrase for the Lincolnshire folk, and it will serve handsomely for the Croydon fathers.

\* \* \*

The lot of the historical painter was a pleasanter one before the coming of the antiquary. The 'old English dress' of young Arthur pleading with Hubert, of Vortigern at the banquet, of the headsman waiting for Mary of Scots, was pictured as a stable fashion, unchanging through the centuries. Tight breeches and stockings, rosetted shoes, narrow trunks, a close tunic with a little frill at the neck. These, with a wide-brimmed hat stuck with ostrich feathers, made up the 'old English dress' unquestioned and established.

\* \* \*

Nowadays the painter of histories must make unwilling search through Stothard's monuments, must thumb M. Viollet-le-Duc's too clever *Mobilier*, and follow a certain beaten track in his library before he dare seat Alfred before the burning cakes or produce King Edward to the kneeling burghers whose shirts must be sought in Racinet or Hottenroth. But the painter still grudges time spent away from paint, and it is in our mind that the *Ancestor's* representative should call yearly upon the Royal Academy Exhibition to record his criticisms of armour and piked shoon. The idea is not an original one, an older established journal has been before us, but something remains to be said of painted dress after the critic of the *Tailor and Cutter* has published his spirited condemnations of the Academy's trousers, baggily inaccurate, and of the Academy's unmodish and provincial waistcoats.

The knight who bears a sword of state beside Queen Margaret might be the first victim of our new departure. The coat of arms worn under his pauldrons—but a file of the *Tailor and Cutter* must first be studied before the mordant style of its May number can be assumed. Let us rather ask why King George the Second is making Trooper Tom Brown of Bland's regiment a 'knight banneret' upon the field of battle? A public-house in Yarm keeps Tom's memory green, or he would have long since listed in the battalion of our forgotten heroes. A big and raw-boned dragoon from Kirkleatham, Tom's spirit could not bear the sight of an English standard carried away in French hands. Single-handed he charged upon it and carried it back to Bland's dragoons, with five wounds about his head and neck, two balls in his back, and a hat ragged with musket shot. Surely a deed of arms in the true Froissart spirit, but there was no knighthood in 1743 for a hero who was a common soldier man. Bland's dragoons gave him 'three Huzza's' when he rode bleeding into their lines, and he was sent home to England to mend his gashes, yet no knighthood was spoken of. In England he did duty with the Horse Guards, until his wounds and a certain soldierly weakness for the can took him out of the army and home to Yarm, where he lived to tell his tale for a short year or two upon a thirty pound pension.

\* \* \*

A second index to the *Ancestor* has been completed, which will be sent to any reader who possesses the four volumes (v. vi. vii. viii.) with which it deals. A postcard to the publishers will secure its despatch.

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